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ABSTRACT

To explore costs and benefits of part-time work for high school students, survey responses of high school seniors from the classes of 1980 through 1984 were examined, distinguishing between those working many hours, those working fewer hours, and those not employed. Because hours of work differed by sex and by college plans, most analyses controlled for those factors. Work intensity, or number of hours worked, was positively related to perceptions of stress and interference with social life, but also to perceptions of increased contact with those of other ages and social backgrounds, as well as with the acquisition and use of skills. Most high school seniors saw little or no connection between their present work and their long-range aspirations. Substantial portions of earnings were spent on discretionary items. There was weak evidence supporting the view that working interfered with school. There were no relationships between work intensity and psychological variables such as self-esteem. Work intensity was positively correlated with aggressive and delinquent behaviors; victimization; and use of cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana, and cocaine. Although the evidence is mixed, it appears likely that some undesirable consequences are caused rather directly by working long hours in part-time jobs while still in high school. (Author/NB)

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paper 20

CORRELATES OF EMPLOYMENT AMONG HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

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CORRELATES OF EMPLOYMENT AMONG HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

Monitoring the Future Occasional Paper 20

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1986

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ABSTRACT

In recent years large majorities of high school students have been holding part-time jobs. While such work experience has been advocated by many social scientists, questions have arisen about whether there are important costs in addition to whatever benefits are derived from part-time work—especially when long hours of work are involved. In order to explore these issues, the present paper examined the survey responses of high school seniors from the classes of 1980–84, distinguishing between those working many hours, those working fewer hours, and those not employed. Because hours of work differ by sex and by college plans, most analyses controlled for these factors. A wide range of the measures available in the Monitoring the Future project were used in these analyses, including the following: job characteristics; saving and spending behaviors; leisure activities; school behaviors, attainments, and attitudes; work attitudes and aspirations; self-esteem and locus of control; areas of agreement and disagreement with parents; health habits; delinquency and victimization; and use of drugs (cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana, and cocaine).

Work intensity (i.e., number of hours worked) was positively related to perceptions of stress and interference with social life, but also to perceptions of increased contact with those of other ages and social backgrounds, as well as the acquisition and use of skills. Nevertheless, the majority of seniors saw little or no connection between their present work and their long-range aspirations; instead, there was a tendency to view their jobs as "the kind of work people do just for the money."

Seniors' reports of how they spend their earnings have prompted the term "premature affluence." Substantial portions of earnings were spent on discretionary items such as stereos, records, TVs, and a variety of "non-durable goods." Car payments and related expenses represent another important area of spending, especially among those who worked long hours. By way of contrast, among all seniors the proportions of earnings devoted to saving for future education, other long-range purposes, or helping with family living expenses, were all quite small.

There is weak evidence supporting the notion that working interferes with school; those working longer hours averaged slightly more truancy and fewer hours of homework, and (among the college-bound) slightly lower grades. These and other data are also compatible with the notion that negative school attitudes and attainments may precede and contribute to the choice to work longer hours while still a student.

Work intensity was not related to general work attitudes or career preferences, perhaps in part due to the lack of career relevance of most student jobs. Confidence in the ability to find and keep a job, however, was higher among those who worked longer hours.

Seniors who worked long hours reported no more or fewer physical symptoms than their classmates; however, they were more likely to skip breakfast and get insufficient sleep. No relationships were found between work intensity and psychological variables such as self-esteem. There was a modest tendency for seniors working long hours to perceive greater disagreements with their parents in a number of areas, including uses of leisure time and whether it is OK to use drugs. Interestingly, and contrary to predictions of some advocates of student employment, perceived disagreements with parents over how seniors spent their money were slightly higher among those with the longest hours (and highest incomes).

Finally, work intensity is positively correlated with aggressive and delinquent behaviors, victimization, and use of cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana, and cocaine. These correlations

are consistent with a number of possible interpretations. One set of interpretations holds that one or more aspects of the work experience (stress, slightly older work-mates, availability of extra money, etc.) contributes more or less directly to deviant behaviors. An alternative, but not mutually exclusive, interpretation would focus on earlier and more fundamental differences between those who do and do not work long hours, and would view these factors as also contributing to higher than average delinquency and use of drugs. Support for this latter interpretation is the finding that early (eighth or ninth grade) drug involvement is correlated with, and thus predictive of, long working hours as high school seniors.

Given the mix of evidence reported here, we cannot conclude that working long hours in the last year of high school is the direct (or indirect) cause of all of the negative outcomes that we find to be correlated with such work. Nevertheless, there remains plenty of room to argue that at least some undesirable consequences are caused rather directly by working long hours in part-time jobs while still a student in high school.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most important transitions facing young people is the transition from student to employed worker. It has long been argued that one of the ways of easing that transition, and also dealing with some of the problems of schooling (including overlong protection from the "real" world, narrow age segregation, lack of contact with adults, etc.) is to involve young people in meaningful work experiences while they are in high school. Advocates of outside employment during high school argued that it could be the "single most important factor" in the socialization of youth to adulthood (National Commission on Youth, 1980), fostering such attributes of maturity as independence and responsibility, realistic career decisions, and good work attitudes and habits (see Hamilton and Crouter, 1980, for a summary of arguments—pro and con—regarding such expected benefits).

In recent years the proportion of young people employed part-time during high school has grown to be a large majority (up to 75% to 80% of high school seniors), and the number of hours worked now averages approximately twenty per week for seniors (Lewis, Gardner and Seitz, 1983; Lewin-Epstein, 1981). Thus, it would appear that the prescription advocated some years earlier is presently being followed. It is now appropriate to ask whether the prescription is working.

Recent intensive studies based on small samples from Orange County, California, have produced very mixed verdicts about the benefits and costs of part-time work experiences during high school (see Greenberger and Steinberg, forthcoming, for a summary of the research design and key findings). Among the findings which could best be interpreted as impacts of employment, rather than as prior differences predisposing students to employment, are increases in traits found valuable to employers ("dependability, persistence, and motivation to perform work well"). However, the researchers also found lowered involvement in school, decreased closeness of interactions with family and peers, increased materialism among younger students, and increased cynicism about work among students from blue- and white-collar backgrounds. Also significant in their longitudinal analyses was the relationship between adolescents' time spent in the workplace and increases in marijuana and cigarette use. Similar findings have also appeared in large-scale national surveys, and have survived despite controls for background, scholastic ability, and other factors (Bachman, Johnston, and O'Malley, 1981; Lewis et al., 1983).

The evidence that the effects of employment during high school are not altogether positive prompts a variety of other questions, having to do with both the nature of the employment experiences, and the nature of the students experiencing them. In regard to the first concern, most expert panels advocating combinations of work and school have placed their greatest hopes upon employment which is monitored by the school, or concerned government agencies, in order to ensure that the advantages of working outweigh the possible disadvantages (President's Science Advisory Committee, 1973; Carnegie Council on Policy Studies, 1979; National Commission on Youth, 1980). But it is clear from at least two nationally representative surveys (National Longitudinal Surveys, 1979–82; High School and Beyond, 1980), as well as the more limited samples in Orange County, that a large majority of working students have jobs which they found on their own, unassisted and unmonitored by the school or dedicated community agency. Overall, more than 80% of the student workers surveyed in the National Longitudinal Surveys worked in jobs which they found and held without school sanction or support (Lewis et al., 1983, p. 79). Their jobs, even those which were school-related, have been classified by dual-market economists as "secondary" jobs, i.e., jobs characterized by low skill levels, little or no opportunity for advancement, and impermanence (Stevenson, 1978). Lewis and

his associates classified nearly 80% of all jobs students hold during high school as being of less than intermediate skill complexity, with 59% of the males' jobs and 33% of the females' jobs at the lowest of five skill level categories (most of the sex difference could be attributed to the higher skill levels required by clerical jobs held by the females).

Sex stratification of job setting has also been noted: among students questioned by High School and Beyond, the proportion of females in food service was nearly double that of males (22.1% vs. 11.5%), clerical work accounted for 17.5% of the females but only 2.1% of the males employed, and nearly 25% of the males were in manual or skilled trades, compared to only 2% of the working females. And, even in these primarily secondary jobs, females' earnings were smaller in each job category (Lewin-Epstein, 1981, p. 102).

Students' jobs vary in setting, earnings, skill complexity, and other more general dimensions. Greenberger et al. (1982) found wide variations in amounts of social contact and interaction with adults and same-age peers, use of skills learned in school, levels of required worker initiative, levels of routinization, variety of tasks, time pressure, and danger of accident and injury. How much a job affects a youngster's attitudes and behaviors outside the workplace may also depend upon the effectiveness of the persons inside the work environment in creating and enforcing norms (President's Science Advisory Committee, 1973).

All of these dimensions of the workplace should be considered before characterizing all youth jobs as "developers and demonstrators of work attitudes and work habits" (Stevenson, 1978), and "even rather humdrum gainful employment" as catalysts of socialization to adulthood (President's Science Advisory Committee, 1973). Just as determinative are the characteristics of students themselves. By the time teenagers reach their senior year, issues about the impact of employment center not so much around whether or not they work (since 80% of them do), but for how long, and with what current intensity. One should expect greater immediate impacts from first jobs than from subsequent ones, at least holding constant how different the work experience is from other life domains. However, it is likely that, among seniors, duration of employment is less important than is current work intensity. D'Amico's analyses of students in the National Longitudinal Surveys (1984) show that, among white, employed seniors, over three-quarters had also worked in their sophomore and/or junior years, and nearly half had worked at least one week in a paid job during all three years of high school. The proportions of minorities who worked prior to senior year are smaller, but still represent a majority: nearly two-thirds of those employed in senior year had worked before. Not surprisingly, the proportions of students who worked for at least half of the school year rose with age: within the white subgroup, 30% of the employed sophomores worked that long, compared to 68% of the juniors and 77% of the seniors. Nevertheless, it is clear that, for a substantial majority of working seniors, holding (and to some extent, finding) a job is nothing new to them, and that larger effects within this age-group might be observed by looking at the extent to which the numbers of hours students presently work affect their present lives and future prospects.

Most analyses to date have been restricted to objective techniques or variables, with little emphasis on students' own perceptions concerning their jobs, their behaviors, and their abilities. The Monitoring the Future dataset is well designed to provide descriptive information not only about demographic and background differences but also about students' own perceptions of how much they are benefiting from their jobs. Also included in the dataset are items which provide information about other, extra-job attitudes and behaviors which may be influenced by work intensity. High school seniors' feelings about schools, parents, friends, and themselves, as well as their school performance, career

aspirations, health behaviors, leisure activities, and spending habits, may all be examined in relation to the proportion of time they spend at work. Also very importantly, the large numbers of cases in the database allow for reliable analysis of marginal behaviors, including delinquent acts and heavy drug use.

METHODS

The Monitoring the Future project is an ongoing study of high school seniors conducted by the Institute for Social Research, with primary sponsorship by the National Institute on Drug Abuse. The study design has been extensively described elsewhere (Bachman and Johnston, 1978; Bachman, Johnston, and O'Malley, 1984); briefly, it involves nationally representative surveys of each high school senior class beginning in 1975, plus follow-up surveys mailed each year to a subset of each senior class sample.

A three-stage probability sampling approach (Kish, 1965) is used each year to select approximately 130 public and private high schools representative of the 48 coterminous states.

The questionnaires are administered in the spring by professional interviewers from the Institute for Social Research during school hours, usually in a regularly scheduled class period. Special procedures are employed to ensure confidentiality, and these procedures are carefully explained in the questionnaire instructions and reviewed orally by the interviewers when they administer the questionnaires. Student response rates were about 80% for each of the survey years included in this report.

In the early stages of work for this paper, analyses were conducted using data from the senior class of 1983. However, we found that some of these analyses were handicapped by limited numbers of cases. Thus, in later stages of analyses we combined data from the classes of 1980 through 1984. As Table 1 indicates, there was a modest trend from 1980 through 1983 toward fewer seniors working during the school year (a drop from about 80% to 75%), and a very slight increase in the proportion working 1-10 hours. On the other hand, the proportion working more than thirty hours, and working 21-30 hours, declined only slightly. Averaging across the years brings us very close to the mean employment rates and hours reported by high school seniors in other nationwide surveys (High School and Beyond, 1980; National Longitudinal Surveys, 1979-1982). Given that our focus is primarily on the relationships between hours of work and other factors, we felt comfortable that combining the five senior classes for many of our analyses would not introduce any important distortions.

The numbers of cases available for the various analyses in this paper vary greatly for two reasons. First, some of the variables we looked at were introduced into the questionnaire set after 1980, thus limiting the number of senior classes available to combine. Second, the number of cases also depends upon whether the items examined appeared in only one or in all five questionnaire forms used in the study (see Bachman and Johnston, 1978, for a discussion of the use of five questionnaire forms in the Monitoring the Future project). For example, analyses of the relationship between average hours worked per week over the school year and the use of marijuana are able to take advantage of questions included in all five questionnaire forms every year, and analyzing these data gives us a total of close to 70,000 respondents. At the other extreme, our analyses of the specific characteristics of jobs worked within the three months prior to the survey were limited to one questionnaire form from the combined classes of 1982-1984, and thus the

number of cases consist of only about 8,600 respondents (roughly 12% of those available for the five-year five-form analyses).

The measures of hours worked used in our analyses also varied slightly. For the analyses concerning job characteristics, we had available a question about the number of hours worked in their current job, or their recent job if they were not currently employed but had worked within the three months prior to the survey. Thus, we were able to exclude sporadic employment which occurred more than three months before the survey, and also, because of the context of the question, any unpaid or in-home paid chores (see Table 7-1 for question wording and context). However, this variable was included in only one of the questionnaire forms (Form 4) and in only three of the five data collections (i.e., beginning in 1982). In order to be able to analyze variables found in other forms, as well as to increase the numbers of cases, another variable was constructed from two questions in the "core" which is common to all five forms, and which appear in all years of the survey:

C23. On the average over the school year, how many hours per week do you work in a paid or unpaid job?

and

C24a. During an average week, how much money do you get from a job or other work?

We recognized early in our analyses that some small proportions of seniors answering question C23 were working in jobs for which they did not receive pay (and, indeed, the question specifies "in a paid or unpaid job"). For purposes of analyzing time spent in various activities, this question wording was useful. For our present purposes, however, we found it potentially confusing to include in the "working" categories those students who are not paid. Thus, we removed from analysis those respondents who reported working but did not report any pay from their work (approximately 8% of the total sample). Additionally, we removed a potentially misleading although relatively small proportion (3%) who reported not working but then indicated some amount of pay from "a job or other work." Table 2 includes trends and overall proportions for these two excluded groups of seniors. We were left, then, with a "core" measure of average work intensity over the school year, which classified about two out of ten seniors as working zero hours, about seven out of ten working various hours in jobs for pay, and the other one in ten as excluded from the analyses because we could not classify them unambiguously along the dimension of interest to us (i.e., weekly number of hours at work).

A potential ambiguity which remains in this "core" measure of work intensity is the inclusion of respondents who were paid for work which would not be classified as a job outside the home. Although the question immediately following C24a asked about the amount of money received from "other sources (allowances, etc.)," a small proportion of seniors, most of whom probably reported the fewest numbers of hours, may have considered the domestic chores for which they are rewarded at home ("other work") while answering the previous, component questions. According to data from High School and Beyond, the lowest numbers of weekly hours (averaging about seven) are performed by students who classify their work as odd jobs or babysitting (Lewin-Epstein, 1981, p. 100). While it seems conceptually correct to include "odd jobs" and babysitting outside the home in our hours worked measure, the inclusion of respondents whose only work has been in-home domestic chores or babysitting little brothers and sisters might depress some potentially important linear relationships between work intensity (especially measured from "0 hours") and other life domains. Fortunately, the percentages which Lewin-

Epstein (1981) reports as holding "odd" and babysitting jobs are fairly small (3.6% of the males, 9.5% of the females).

In order to test for the possibility of this kind of contamination in the "core" measure of work intensity, and also to provide some other potentially useful information about the composition of this variable, bivariate tables were constructed involving the "core" measure (based on all five forms) against a combination of the more specifically worded one-form measure and the question immediately preceding it, which asked whether, and when, a job was held. As expected, the overall consistency between the two measures was high: about 74% of all respondents who reported any hours of paid work over the school year said that they worked the same numbers of hours on the one-form measure of present or very recent work; and the mean numbers of hours worked are very similar between the two measures. Also expected was the small proportion of those who reported between one and five hours of work in the "core" measure, but indicated "never had a paid job" in response to the one-form-only variable (5.8%). Table 3 summarizes the comparisons between the two measures of work intensity. We can also see that higher proportions of the "core" 1-5 hour group reported larger numbers of hours on the one-form, most recent job question than did those in the larger "core" hours categories. This phenomenon may serve to offset the larger proportions of at-home workers at this end of the scale. Therefore, while relationships centered specifically on the very lowest categories of hours worked as measured by the "core" variable are possibly contaminated with a very small proportion of in-home workers and with a probably larger proportion of seniors who were currently working more than five hours, overall summary statistics comparing the entire range of work hours should be less affected by these two sets of "inconsistencies." We therefore felt confident in using the "core" measure whenever the one-form work intensity variable was not available, and in the text that follows, use of the "core" measure is implied unless otherwise indicated.

Table 3 includes some information about how recently seniors held their last jobs. First, we are reminded that most of those who reported no hours worked over the school year have worked sometime in the past: females who reported having had a job more than three months prior to the survey outnumber those who reported never having had a paid job by more than 10%, and the males not currently working are twice as likely to have held a job than not. Second, there is a positive relationship between hours of work as measured by the core variable and recency of the work: about a quarter of the respondents in the 1-5 hours category reported having had a job more than three months prior to the survey, while only about 3% of those in the modal 16-20 hours category were not working currently. Third, the four subgroups presented in the table are fairly distinct in their amounts of response consistency between the core measure and the Form 4 measure of hours worked. Females reporting only 1-5 hours a week over the school year are more likely than males to say that they never had a paid job, and college-bound females are more likely to show this "discrepancy" than females not planning to graduate from a four-year college, a finding which may be explained by involvement in odd jobs or babysitting, as noted previously. Males working more than ten hours a week are nearly twice as likely as females to report more hours in answer to the Form 4 measure, and noncollege-bound males are slightly higher than college-bound males in this regard, indicating their greater numbers of hours worked currently, and possibly, an acceleration of work intensity as the school year comes to a close.

Because we are interested in the possible effects of recent or current work intensity, we considered it important to introduce statistical controls for any factors which might be strongly correlated with hours worked and which might themselves be more fundamental causes of differences in the variables we are examining. Table 4-1 presents the distributions of average weekly hours worked over the school year as measured by the

"core" questions, among all seniors from the combined classes of 1980–84. Table 4-2 gives percentage distributions and means for the Form 4 measure of work intensity. Also shown in both tables are distributions for some potentially important subgroups. Scanning the tables from left to right, we see that females are less apt to have been employed, and less likely to work long hours, than males. Seniors not expecting to graduate from a four-year college are only slightly more likely to work at all, but twice as likely to work twenty-five or more hours per week, compared with seniors who are planning to graduate from a four-year college. The black-white differences in youth employment documented extensively elsewhere (Lewin-Epstein, 1981; Stevenson, 1978; Lewis et al., 1983) are repeated in our data, although the reported hours of work are not substantially smaller among black students who held a job in senior year. Also in keeping with other nationally representative datasets, there are slightly fewer working high school seniors from the South, and from the least populated areas of the country.

Given that male high school seniors are more likely than females to work long hours, and that the noncollege-bound are more likely to work long hours than are their classmates who expect to finish four years of college, we chose to carry out most of our analyses not only for the total samples but also for the following four subgroups:

Males expecting to complete four years of college,
Males not expecting to complete four years of college,
Females expecting to complete four years of college,
Females not expecting to complete four years of college.

In these analyses we explore whether the number of hours currently or recently worked on a paid job is correlated with a wide variety of other factors, at least some of which may reflect the impacts of different amounts of part-time work. In general, we will concentrate on a description of the differences between respondents in each hours-worked category and a single other variable or variable composite. Technically, the hours worked variable is used as the "independent" variable in the one-way analyses of variance that are reported here. However, because these data are cross-sectional, we cannot ascertain with any certainty the cause-effect nature of the relationships we report. Nevertheless, we often take advantage of other research, question content, and patterns of relationships, in order to make educated guesses as to whether the variables being considered really are affected by current or recent work intensity, rather than reflecting background characteristics which cause seniors to "select themselves" into jobs with longer or shorter hours.

Table 1

Trends in High School Seniors' Weekly Hours of Work
Classes of 1980–1984

C23: On the average over the school year, how many hours per week do you work in a paid or unpaid job?	Percentage of seniors in the graduating class of:				
	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
1. None	19.6	21.5	23.4	24.8	25.1
2. 1–10 hours	18.4	20.1	20.9	21.1	20.1
3. 11–20 hours	28.5	27.5	27.0	26.6	25.7
4. 21–30 hours	22.8	21.1	19.9	18.7	19.6
5. More than 30 hours	10.5	9.8	8.8	8.9	9.5
Number of cases	15527	17266	17254	15976	15511

NOTE: Categories 2 through 4 are collapsed versions of the original categories, e.g. category 2 is the sum of "1–5 hours" and "6–10 hours."

Table 2

Trends in the "Core" Measure of Work Intensity,
Including Two Ambiguous Groups
Classes of 1980–1984

Average Hours/Week in a Paid Job Over the School Year	Percentage of seniors in the graduating class of:					1980–1984 combined
	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	
Percent reporting...						
0 Hours	15.4	16.9	18.5	19.9	20.4	18.2
Any hours and any earnings	75.6	72.7	70.6	68.8	68.5	71.2
Hours but no earnings[a]	6.8	7.8	7.9	8.2	8.3	7.8
Earnings but no hours[a]	2.3	2.6	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.7
Number of cases	14833	16439	16459	15262	14816	77808

[a]These respondents were excluded from all further analysis. See text for discussion.

Table 3

Composition of the "Core" Work Intensity Measure:
Comparisons within Each Category with the Form 4 "Recent/Present" Work Hours Measures
for the Total Sample and Four Subgroups

	Percentage of Each Category of Hours of Paid Work Over the School Year ("Core" measure)							
	0 Hours	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31+
Total Sample (N=7539)								
"Core" measure distribution	*18.2*	*7.8*	*10.0*	*12.1*	*18.2*	*14.4*	*9.4*	*9.9*
Chose same category on Form 4 measure	NA	41.8	60.7	73.8	78.4	76.8	69.7	62.0
Larger Form 4 category chosen	19.3	28.5	18.5	8.8	7.7	7.8	10.7	NA
Smaller Form 4 category chosen	NA	NA	7.5	11.2	10.1	12.9	16.5	32.1
Last job held more than 3 months previous	51.0	23.9	11.3	5.2	3.0	2.5	2.7	5.0
Never had a paid job	29.7	5.8	2.0	1.0	0.6	0.1	0.2	0.9
Males Planning to Graduate from a Four-Year College (N=2087)								
"Core" measure distribution	*18.7*	*8.2*	*11.3*	*13.5*	*18.1*	*14.1*	*8.0*	*8.0*
Chose same category on Form 4 measure	NA	37.6	63.2	75.5	78.3	79.7	69.3	64.4
Larger Form 4 category chosen	18.2	37.1	20.8	10.6	9.3	5.9	13.0	NA
Smaller Form 4 category chosen	NA	NA	4.6	10.6	9.3	12.8	13.1	30.2
Last job held more than 3 months previous	59.2	21.9	10.9	2.7	3.1	1.6	4.0	4.2
Never had a paid job	22.6	3.4	0.5	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.2
Males Not Planning to Graduate from a Four-Year College (N=1458)								
"Core" measure distribution	*13.0*	*7.2*	*8.5*	*8.9*	*15.5*	*15.0*	*13.6*	*18.2*
Chose same category on Form 4 measure	NA	35.1	43.5	62.2	68.8	68.8	65.3	70.1
Larger Form 4 category chosen	23.6	33.1	25.3	12.6	12.2	15.7	15.3	NA
Smaller Form 4 category chosen	NA	NA	12.0	12.3	11.7	11.4	16.5	27.1
Last job held more than 3 months previous	55.5	27.9	17.3	11.2	6.2	4.2	2.8	1.8
Never had a paid job	20.9	3.9	1.9	1.7	1.1	0.0	0.0	1.0
Females Planning to Graduate from a Four-Year College (N=2176)								
"Core" measure distribution	*20.8*	*8.7*	*10.3*	*14.2*	*18.4*	*13.6*	*8.2*	*5.8*
Chose same category on Form 4 measure	NA	48.9	63.6	78.2	82.3	78.6	74.8	46.6
Larger Form 4 category chosen	19.5	19.8	17.4	6.3	5.0	4.8	5.1	NA
Smaller Form 4 category chosen	NA	NA	6.6	11.4	10.7	15.1	17.9	42.7
Last job held more than 3 months previous	47.1	22.6	9.9	3.0	1.3	1.2	2.3	8.8
Never had a paid job	33.4	8.7	2.5	1.1	0.7	0.1	0.0	1.8
Females Not Planning to Graduate from a Four-Year College (N=1464)								
"Core" measure distribution	*19.9*	*7.2*	*5.6*	*10.4*	*20.8*	*15.0*	*8.6*	*9.5*
Chose same category on Form 4 measure	NA	44.4	67.6	76.8	79.9	80.6	70.7	58.1
Larger Form 4 category chosen	15.6	23.4	9.1	5.0	6.0	5.9	8.2	NA
Smaller Form 4 category chosen	NA	NA	10.4	11.2	10.1	10.1	19.9	33.4
Last job held more than 3 months previous	44.3	27.1	9.3	5.6	2.8	3.2	1.2	8.5
Never had a paid job	40.1	5.1	3.6	1.4	1.1	0.2	0.0	0.0

All distributions are for those respondents who answered both of the core measures and either of the two Form 4 measures (4D03a: "Which best describes your recent employment experience?" or 4D03b: "On the average, how many hours per week do (did) you work on this particular job?").

"Chose same category on Form 4 measure" means that the same hours of work interval was chosen on both the "core" measure and the Form 4 measure. Since the Form 4 measure did not have a "0 hours" category, equivalence for that category is unobtainable.

"Last job held more than 3 months previous" includes all respondents who marked category 3 of question 4D03a: "No paid job in the past 3 months".

"Never had a paid job" includes all respondents who marked category 4 of question 4D03a: "Never had a paid job".

If question 4D03b was answered but 4D03a was not, a respondent was not excluded from the distribution of hours worked in a present/recent job. However, if category 3 or 4 of question 4D03a was answered, any hours worked category chosen in question 4D03b was ignored.

Table 4–1

Weekly Hours of Work Over the School Year: Distributions of High School Seniors[a]
by Sex, Four-Year College Plans, Race, Region, and Population Density, and for the Total Sample
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Sex		Graduate from Four-Year College?		Race		Region				Population Density[b]		
		M	F	Yes	No	White	Black	NE	NC	S	W	Large SMSA	Other SMSA	Non-SMSA
None	20.4%	17.4%	23.4%	21.3%	19.3%	17.3%	38.2%	18.7%	19.2%	23.8%	18.2%	19.6%	19.2%	22.5%
1–5	7.7	7.8	7.7	8.9	6.3	7.7	8.5	7.3	8.1	7.2	8.9	6.6	7.7	8.7
6–10	9.7	9.8	9.6	10.7	8.4	9.9	8.5	10.0	9.4	8.9	11.7	8.7	9.2	11.2
11–15	11.7	10.9	12.5	13.1	9.8	12.5	7.8	13.6	12.3	9.7	11.6	12.5	11.1	11.7
16–20	17.7	16.8	18.7	18.7	16.4	18.7	12.8	20.4	18.2	15.6	17.1	20.7	18.2	14.7
21–25	13.9	14.5	13.4	13.2	14.8	15.0	8.7	14.4	14.4	13.5	13.4	14.9	14.9	11.9
26–30	8.9	10.1	7.7	7.5	10.6	9.2	6.2	8.2	8.5	9.6	9.3	8.6	9.3	8.5
31+	9.9	12.7	7.1	6.6	14.3	9.8	9.2	7.6	9.8	11.8	9.9	8.3	10.3	10.8
Mean hours (approx.)	14.9	16.1	13.7	13.6	16.5	15.5	11.2	14.7	15.0	14.9	14.9	15.0	15.3	14.2
Number of cases	69619	33497	34709	39251	28369	55463	7857	16063	20762	21661	11134	17864	29281	22474
Mean hours for workers only	18.8	19.6	18.0	17.4	20.6	18.8	18.3	18.2	18.7	19.7	18.4	18.7	19.1	18.5
Number of cases	55432	27672	26597	30886	22888	45840	4853	13057	16768	16502	9105	14355	23657	17421

[a]Excluded from these distributions are 1) seniors who report working on a job but report no earnings from their work, and, 2) seniors who report earnings from work but do not report having had a job. See text for explanation.

[b]Measured using Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas as units.

Table 4–2

Jobholding Status and Current Weekly Hours of Work (Form 4 Measure): Distributions of High School Seniors by Sex, Four-Year College Plans, Race, Region, and Population Density, and for the Total Sample
Classes of 1982–1984, Combined

		Sex		Graduate from Four-Year College?		Race		Region				Population Density		
	Total	M	F	Yes	No	White	Black	NE	NC	S	W	Large SMSA	Other SMSA	Non-SMSA
ever had a paid job	8.1%	5.5%	10.6%	8.0%	8.3%	6.6%	16.9%	6.4%	7.6%	10.7%	6.4%	7.4%	7.9%	9.0%
b job in last 3 months	18.7	19.4	18.0	19.5	18.0	18.2	23.1	19.1	19.3	17.8	19.1	16.2	17.3	22.6
ours worked per week:														
1–5	5.6	5.3	6.0	5.7	5.7	5.3	8.1	4.5	6.1	5.4	6.8	4.5	5.2	7.0
6–10	8.9	8.6	9.2	9.8	7.8	9.1	8.3	10.1	8.8	7.5	10.4	9.1	8.5	9.3
11–15	11.4	11.1	11.9	13.0	9.3	12.2	7.9	11.9	11.6	10.4	12.5	12.3	11.4	10.7
16–20	16.9	15.9	18.0	17.6	15.9	17.4	13.4	19.3	17.4	15.0	16.3	18.6	18.2	13.9
21–25	12.9	13.0	13.0	12.4	13.2	13.5	8.9	13.7	12.2	12.9	13.4	15.9	14.3	9.0
26–30	8.2	9.0	7.5	7.2	9.5	8.4	6.9	8.3	7.4	9.1	7.9	8.6	8.1	8.0
31–35	3.8	5.3	2.3	2.9	5.1	4.0	2.3	2.3	4.1	4.7	3.4	3.0	4.0	4.1
36+	5.3	7.0	3.5	3.8	7.2	5.4	4.1	4.4	5.5	6.6	3.8	4.3	5.1	6.4
ean hours among recent/current jobholders	19.1	20.0	18.0	18.1	20.3	19.2	17.8	18.6	18.9	20.1	18.1	19.0	19.3	18.9
umber of cases	8742	4257	4300	4930	3524	7006	916	1970	2606	2762	1405	2216	3866	2860

JOB CHARACTERISTICS

Our primary focus in this research is on the correlates, and possible consequences, of different amounts of paid work by high school students. As a first step in our analyses, it will be useful to examine what the students themselves say about their jobs, and the impacts their jobs have on other parts of their lives. We begin this section by reporting the hours that seniors work in their part-time jobs, and their earnings. Then we examine seniors' own assessments of (a) positive aspects of their jobs, such as interpersonal contacts and the chances to develop and use skills, and (b) possible negative aspects, such as stress and interference with school, family, and social life. We also try to sort out the extent to which the jobs seniors hold are related to the kinds of work they hope to do in the future, versus something they just "do for the money." Finally, we consider briefly the extent to which schools, teachers, and counselors play a role in job placement, and then in greater depth, the possible impacts of high school curriculum and work-study participation on the seniors' assessments of their jobs.

Hours at Work. We have seen in Table 4–1 the mean numbers of hours worked by all seniors (classes of 1980–84) as well as separately for males, females, and those who do and do not expect to finish a four-year college program. Table 5 presents the percentage distributions for the same measures, this time using the four sex-by-college plans subgroups of interest to us. Each of the subgroups shows large majorities of students as working, in many cases more than 20 hours per week. But there are also subgroup differences; in particular, those who work the longest hours are most likely to be males not expecting to finish college.

Earnings. One of the most important characteristics of students' jobs are their earnings—indeed, as we shall see below, it is the most important characteristic for many students. Table 6 presents seniors' responses to the following question about earnings: "During an average week, how much money do you get from a job or other work?" Although this question is located in the "core" (five-form, five-year) section of the questionnaire, we chose to exclude the seniors from the classes of 1980–81 because the question's response categories were updated in 1982. Another reason for excluding the first two senior classes is that the resulting data are more comparable to the data on job characteristics (also from the classes of 1982–84) presented later in this section. (Separate analyses revealed no bias introduced by these exclusions.)

As can be seen from the bottom half of Table 6, college plans show no relationship with the amount of money earned per week. There are, however, differences in average weekly earnings: because those not planning to complete four years of college work longer hours, their overall earnings average slightly higher than their counterparts who do intend to complete four years of college. Also, the average weekly earnings of the males are higher than those of the females. This occurs not only because males work longer hours, but also because their hourly earnings are higher. These sex differences are consistent for both college plans categories, and are especially noticeable between the male and female seniors who work longer hours.

Descriptions of Current Job. The measures of hours and income reported above are based on items which are included in all five Monitoring the Future questionnaire forms. Now we turn to a series of questions which appeared in a single form (Form 4) for senior classes beginning in 1982, and which ask specifically about the respondent's present job or, if not currently employed, the job they held in the three months prior to the survey. As can be seen in Table 7–1, respondents who have not held a paid job within the past three months are instructed to skip this set of questions (and any who failed to follow this

instruction have been excluded from the analyses of those questions). It should be recalled that the focus on current or most recent paid job is slightly different from the earlier five-form measure of paid work on the average over the school year. Thus, when seniors were asked their average hours per week on this particular job, their responses were usually but not always the same as their responses to the earlier more general question. Nearly three-quarters gave identical responses to the two questions about hours of work, and most of the rest gave responses only one category apart. (See table 3.)

Since the remainder of this section deals entirely with reports about present or recent job experience, we will use the corresponding specific measure of hours worked on that job when relating job characteristics to hours worked. (In other sections we will return to the more general measure of hours of paid work on average over the school year, because that measure is available on all questionnaire forms.)

Table 7-1 through 7-8 presents the complete set of Form 4 items about the current or recent job. These questions were designed to deal directly with a number of the key questions about the advantages and possible disadvantages of youth employment. We turn now to a discussion of these items, organized around key themes of advantages and disadvantages of employment while in school.

Interpersonal Contacts on the Job. It is often suggested that the positive effects of youth employment include interactions with older people and persons from varied social backgrounds (the reports of the President's Science Advisory Committee, 1973). However, Greenberger and Steinberg (1981) report that most employment environments serve merely as an extension of adolescent culture, generally affording little social interaction with adults. As item D4 in Table 7-2 indicates, the majority of seniors reported that their supervisors were age 31 or older, and most of the rest had supervisors age 26 to 30. Only a handful had supervisors age 20 or younger. About half of the seniors reported that few or none of their fellow workers were within two or three years of their own age, and only about one in three reported most or all co-workers as close to their own age (see item D5 in Table 7-2). Most respondents reported that working did let them get to know older people (over age 30) and those from different social backgrounds to at least some extent (items D6e and D6d, respectively).

We found several modest but interesting relationships with amount of hours spent on the job. Although age of supervisor did not differ in any important way between those working short and long hours, we did observe a tendency toward higher proportions of same-age co-workers as the numbers of hours increased from five or less up to 21-25 per week. (Those working 1-5 hours reported, on average, fewer than half of their co-workers within 2-3 years of their own age; those working 21-35 hours responded, on average, half or slightly more; those working 35 or more hours average somewhat less than half of their co-workers their own age.) We also found that increased hours (across the full range to 36 or more hours) increased contacts with people from different backgrounds ($r=.13$) and those over age 30 ($r=.09$).

If we consider these several trends, it appears that there are two somewhat conflicting patterns involved. Those seniors involved in working longer hours (but not the longest hours) are more likely to be working with people their own age, which may represent a more limited opportunity for cross-age contact; nevertheless, these same seniors report greater than average cross-age and cross-cultural contact in terms of the people their jobs let them "get to know." The most likely explanation would seem to be that the longer hours provide an increased quantity of contact with other people, and that this is more than enough to compensate for the higher proportion of same-age co-workers.

Thus we conclude that increased amounts of part-time work provide increased opportunities for interpersonal contacts across different ages and social backgrounds.

Skill Use and Learning. Another of the assumed advantages of work during the high school years is that jobs provide opportunities to learn new skills and also to put into practice those skills and abilities which have already been developed (Greenberger et al., forthcoming). When asked to what extent their current work allows them to do the things they do best, half of the seniors in our sample replied that they used their skills and abilities a little or not at all, one quarter said they did so to some extent, and the remaining quarter reported using their skills and abilities to a considerable or great extent (see D6a in Table 7-3). The respondents were also asked to what extent their jobs teach them skills that will be useful in their future work; and the answers were much the same. Only about 30% reported that the job taught them such skills to a considerable or great extent (D6b). To what extent did these jobs make good use of special skills that had already been learned in vocational or technical studies? In most cases very little or not at all (D6c). In sum, it would appear that most high school seniors are involved in jobs which neither demand much in terms of existing skills nor provide many opportunities for learning skills useful for future work, at least if we are to take these reports at face value. We should, at the same time, acknowledge that some of the "skills" attributed to youth employment are the basic practices of punctuality, responsibility, cooperation, etc., which may not be considered when respondents are asked about "new skills" taught by their job.

There is one important exception to the generalization offered above, and it relates quite clearly to the focus of this report. As the numbers of hours worked increases above 20 per week, there is a modest but fairly steady increase in the proportion of seniors who reported that the job used their skills and taught them new skills. These relationships are compatible with findings from the National Longitudinal Survey (Shapiro, 1983), that youth working full-time were much more likely to feel that they were acquiring skills than those in part-time jobs. The relationships are displayed in Figure 1. A further important distinction is that these correlations between hours worked and reports of skill use and development are strongest among males who do not expect to get a four-year college degree. In other words, working long hours may pay some dividends in terms of skill development and utilization, and these dividends seem to be greater among young men not counting on a college degree to help them in their future careers.

Job Stress and Interference. Another important issue in youth employment is its possible impact in the form of mental or emotional stress. If being a student is supposed to be the primary activity or "occupation" of a high school senior, what are the effects of working 10, 20, or even 30 hours on a part-time job in addition to being a student? The responses to a direct question about stress and tension caused by the job (D6f in Table 7-4) suggest that the majority of seniors are troubled little or not at all by job-related stress and tension; however, about one in five reports such problems to a considerable or great extent, and another one in five reports such problems to some extent. Males are less apt to report any stress, and slightly less likely to report considerable to great amounts of stress, than females. And, as shown in Figure 2, the longer the hours a student works, the greater the average amount of stress and tension is reported.

A closely related issue is whether youth employment interferes with education and with family and social life. Responses to questions about each of these potential job problems are shown in Table 7-4 (D6g,h,i), and their relationships with numbers of hours worked are shown in Figure 2. Interference with social life is reported in nearly the same proportions as stress and tension. The two variables are somewhat interrelated: of those seniors who report stress, nearly 80% also report interference with social life. However, 50% of those reporting no stress from their job report that it does interfere with their

social life, underlining the fact that seniors' social lives are of great concern to them. Interference with family life and education are reported by distinctly smaller proportions of seniors; three quarters report little or no difficulty in these areas, and fewer than one in ten report considerable or great interference with school or family life. An optimistic interpretation of these findings would take the position that education and family life are given sufficient importance by seniors (as well as parents and school personnel) so that work is not allowed to interfere greatly. A more cynical interpretation would be that these areas are actually less important to seniors, and thus interferences are less likely to be noted compared with the interferences with social life. Of course, each of these explanations may be true for different seniors. For example, we might expect college-bound seniors to report interference with education more often than the noncollege-bound—especially when we look at those working relatively long hours. In fact, there is a slight tendency in this direction; however, it is too small to be statistically trustworthy or substantively important. (All other differences related to college plans or sex were even smaller.)

As Figure 2 indicates, the reports of interference with education, family, and social life show the same pattern of relationship with hours worked as we found for reports of stress and tension. Longer hours are indeed associated with higher proportions reporting these problems, and the relationships are quite consistent although not especially strong (product-moment correlations range from .10 to .14). We conclude, then, that long hours of work while a student may indeed exact some toll in the form of stress and interference with other spheres of life, but the relationship is not a powerful one nor are the average levels of reported difficulty very high.

"Kids' Jobs" Versus "Real Jobs". As noted in the introduction, Greenberger et al. (1982) argue persuasively that it is shortsighted to treat the adolescent work experience as a unidimensional phenomenon, and they report a number of important distinctions among the jobs that young people typically hold. The Monitoring the Future dataset does not permit such a detailed assessment of different job characteristics; however, a set of five questionnaire items is available which was designed to make some distinctions between those jobs which teenagers hold strictly "for the money" versus those which are intrinsically satisfying and/or which relate to the kind of work the young person hopes to do in the future. The responses to these questions, displayed in Tables 7-5 and 7-6 (D7a-e), indicate that most students have "kids' jobs" rather than jobs of the sort they could be happy doing for most of their lives.

Ratings of whether their jobs are "interesting to do" (D7a) cover the full range of responses from "not at all" to a "a great extent." But in response to a more pointed question about whether they could be happy doing that job for most of their lives (D7b), three-quarters indicated little or no interest in that possibility. The follow-on question asking whether they actually expected to be doing that sort of work for most of their lives (D7c) prompted only about one in nine to indicate that this was quite likely. But if not ultimately satisfying, are these the sorts of jobs that can be good stepping-stones toward desirable future jobs? The responses to this item (D7d) were somewhat more positive; although just over half saw no such connection at all, nearly 30% saw in the present job at least some possibility of a stepping-stone toward future jobs, and over 10% thought this would be true to a great extent. The final question in this series (D7e) was an attempt to get at a sort of "bottom line" evaluation from seniors: is this the kind of work people do just for the money? Responses to this question varied even more widely than the ratings of job interest; one quarter of the seniors said that was true of their job to a great extent, but nearly as many said it was not at all true, and the rest were spread nearly equally across the remaining response alternatives.

Based on these data, we can conclude that most seniors' jobs are not the sort of work they expect or prefer to be doing for the rest of their lives, and only a minority see their present jobs as stepping-stones to the kind of work they seek in the long run. Nevertheless, many seniors are unwilling to characterize their jobs exclusively as something that "people"—and thus, by implication, they themselves—do only for the money.

Are those not planning on a college degree more likely to see their current jobs as important for the future? And are such perceptions also more likely among those working longer hours? The most accurate answer to both questions would be: yes, but not much. Table 8 displays mean responses to the five questions discussed above for the different hours of work among all seniors, and also separately for sex and college plans subgroups. In general, we find that most of those working more than 20 hours per week were more positive about their jobs; and for every level of time invested in their jobs, those not planning to complete college were a bit more likely than their classmates to rate their jobs as stepping-stones and/or as something they would be willing to do for the rest of their lives. Nevertheless, a close look at the data in Table 8 will confirm that these differences, while internally consistent, are not very strong; thus we are left with the conclusion that even among the noncollege-bound who are investing heavy amounts of time in their part-time jobs, the connection with desirable work in the future is in most cases limited.

How satisfied are seniors with their current jobs? The findings presented above suggest some specific answers, but a more global assessment is provided by a single question asked just ahead of the series of questions on job characteristics. The question text and response percentages are shown in Table 7-8. Well over half are on the positive side of the scale, although many indicate that they are only somewhat satisfied. On the other hand, more than one quarter indicate dissatisfaction. Here we find few consistent differences related to sex, college plans, or amount of hours spent on the job.

The Role of Schools, Teachers, and Counselors. To what extent do schools play a role in placing their students in part-time jobs? Responses to the item D08 (shown on Table 7-7) indicate that most of those currently employed found their own jobs, with little or no help from a teacher or counselor. There is, however, evidence that the school role is greater in the case of the noncollege-bound: seniors in this subgroup are not only more likely to have received help in job placement, but to have obtained work-study positions (item 4D09).

High School Program and Work-Study Participation

At the outset, we examined seniors' responses to questions about their jobs using the four subgroups which we determined to be the most important for the study of a variety of variables in relation to work intensity: four-year college-bound males and females, and males and females not planning to graduate from a four-year college. After examining the distributions for item 4D09, however, it became apparent that we needed to perform separate analyses on work-study study seniors, since among the jobholders between 9% and 16% of the college-bound, and nearly a quarter of the noncollege-bound, were involved in such programs. (Among all seniors from the classes of 1982-1984, about 13% reported having a paid work-study job.) Any direct effect of work intensity on the specific job characteristic measures should be weaker among students whose hours in school are formally shortened in order to hold a job—and there might be some unmasking of relationships when we analyze the nonwork-study seniors separately. In addition, depending upon the type of program, work-study jobs may be substantially different from jobs held exclusively outside the domain of the school (Lewis et al., 1983; Stern, 1984).

The effect of work intensity outside school should also vary depending upon the kinds of classes in which the senior is involved during his in-school hours—not only his four-year college plans but also his present educational choices. The latter can be loosely gauged by examining responses to a core measure of high school curriculum, i.e. whether his current high school program is largely college-preparatory, general, or vocational. And, although the two measures are interrelated, we chose to stratify the job characteristics items by high school program in addition to college plans for three further reasons. First, although the correspondence between enrollment in a college-preparatory curriculum and plans to graduate from a four-year college is large, it is not exact—nearly one in three seniors having such plans are not in college-preparatory programs. More important, respondents not planning to graduate from a four-year college constitute a much looser category than their college-bound peers, with large minorities in each high school program. The percentage of noncollege-bound seniors in "general" programs is the largest at 44%, vocational students comprise another 27%, and 18% are college-preparatory students.

Third, "work-study" programs vary in intended aim—whether serving primarily financial or experiential purposes—and also in degree of formal supervision required or offered by the school. The paid jobs to which the work-study respondents in our sample refer are most likely otherwise naturally occurring jobs for which schools allow flexible schedules or even academic credit (Abramowitz and Tannenbaum, 1978); however, they also very likely include in-school paid jobs (e.g., vocational program simulations, school office or cafeteria jobs). In the absence of a question which discerns the specific kind of work-study program in which the respondent participated, high school curriculum becomes an important categorizing variable. Although we would expect jobs held outside school to vary according to curriculum also (Peng et al. [1981] report that vocational seniors are more apt to receive some on-the-job training), work-study jobs should especially differ depending upon current program of study. For example, it is likely that seniors who list their curriculum as primarily vocational are more apt to be involved in career-based work-study programs than those in general curricula, while college-preparatory seniors may be more apt to participate in financially-based programs in order to provide extra money for college.

The sex differences in job choice already mentioned are very likely also to affect the type of work-study job chosen, since the majority of females in vocational programs concentrate on office occupations, while males are mostly in technical-industrial programs (Rumberger and Daymont, 1982). Fortunately, the large number of cases available allows us to make these work-study, high school program, and sex distinctions (for a total of twelve subgroups) without becoming severely hampered by small subgroup sizes. Weighted Ns and percentage distributions for these subgroups are given in Figure 3, and responses to the items concerning job characteristics for each of these subgroups are presented in Table 9 (organized in the same way as Table 7).

We see from Figure 3 that females are more likely to be involved in work-study programs, no matter which concentration of classes they are in. Overall, there are half again as many females as males in paid work-study programs. The highest female-male difference in work-study participation among the three curricula occurs for the college-preparatory students, whose overall participation rate is the lowest. However, due to the relative sizes of each curriculum, the college-preparatory students make up nearly one-third of all respondents recently or currently holding a paid work-study job. The relative size of the male and female subgroups within each program of concentration also determines the extent to which a single curriculum predominates among the work-study seniors; for example, although among females the vocational students are by far the most likely to have work-study jobs (37%), vocational students constitute the smallest defined category of work-study females (25%). The following sections summarize the responses

given by jobholding seniors in each high school curriculum and work-study vs. nonwork-study subgroup, presented in Tables 9-1 through 9-8.

Recency of Employment. A large majority of all respondents were currently holding the paid job to which they referred when answering the rest of the job characteristics question set, with little variation by curriculum. Work-study jobholders were even more likely to be currently working than respondents not in work-study programs (see first distribution of Table 9-1), a finding consistent with the expectation that "school-supervised" jobs are designed to continue for the full semester or school year. The most extreme difference related to work-study status occurred for male vocational students, with 84% of jobholders not in work-study holding their jobs "now," vs. 98% of those in work-study programs.

Hours Worked Per Week. A study of high school-age youth in the National Longitudinal Survey (1979) reported that respondents who worked in "school-supervised" jobs—a category which included cooperative education, financially-based work-study, and the CETA and YEPDA programs—worked more hours per week on their jobs than did those whose jobs were not school-supervised (Lewis et al., 1983). This is also the case for the Monitoring the Future sample, with work-study seniors working an average of three hours more per week than the nonwork-study jobholders (Table 9-1). There is little further variation in the work intensity measure for females. Males in vocational programs, on the other hand, work a little over an hour more than males in general programs, and three hours more than males in college-preparatory curricula, whether or not they participate in work-study programs. Males in work-study and vocational programs work the longest hours of all 12 subgroups, with nearly half (47%) putting in more than 25 hours per week.

Interpersonal Contacts on the Job. The percentage distributions for age of supervisor presented in Table 9-2 are similar to those presented in Table 7-2, with one exception: vocational females who hold work-study jobs are more likely to report having an older supervisor than any other subgroup, including their male counterparts (72.9% vs. 59.1%). However, correlational analyses (not shown) revealed no relationship between work intensity and supervisor age within any of the subgroups, consistent with the data in Table 7-2.

The jobs held by seniors in work-study programs appear to offer more contact with older co-workers, and people over age 30 in general (items D05 and D06e). This effect is largest for the females. Once again, vocational females with work-study jobs are most likely to report cross-age contact: 79% of this subgroup (vs. 52% of vocational females not in work-study jobs) say that none or only a few of their co-workers are their own age, and nearly half (47%) report being able to get to know people over age 30 to a great extent while on the job (39% of their nonwork-study peers say the same). Nearly as large are the male-female differences within the work-study group. For example, in contrast to the 47% of vocational work-study females mentioned above, only 22% of the vocational males report that their work study jobs allow a great amount of contact with people over 30; for the general program work-studies, the corresponding percentages are 38% and 24%; and among college-preparatory work-studies, females outnumber males by nearly four to one in such positive response to this item. Coupled with the somewhat smaller sex differences within the nonwork-study subgroup, it is reasonable to conclude that Greenberger's characterization of the adolescent's workplace as merely an extension of adolescent culture applies primarily to males.

Small correlations between work intensity and age of co-workers were found only among students in college-preparatory and general programs—that is, for those whose

work is least likely to be "school-related." Among females, and to a slight extent among males, students in nonvocational programs and nonwork-study jobs are more likely to have co-workers their own age if they work more hours on the job.

Interaction with people of different social backgrounds is also somewhat greater among seniors working longer hours, and the effect is more consistent among those not in work-study programs. The subgroup patterns of cross-cultural interaction is similar to those of cross-age interaction, with females generally reporting more interaction than males, work-study seniors more than other jobholders, and the vocational seniors holding paid work-study jobs reporting the highest levels, weekly hours of work notwithstanding. Only the higher intensity (twenty-plus-hour) groups among the nonwork-study seniors report levels of such interaction comparable to that of the work-study seniors as a whole.

Skill Use and Learning. Not surprisingly, the largest distinctions characterizing the jobs held by seniors in each of the high school program subgroups are related to the extent to which their jobs exercise salient abilities and provide the opportunity to learn new and useful skills. Students in vocational programs are nearly twice as likely as students in college-preparatory programs to say that their jobs use their best skills and teach new ones to a great extent, and they are nearly three times more likely to report that their jobs "make good use of special skills" learned in school to a considerable or great extent. Perhaps more interesting are the large increases in perceived skill acquisition and use which are associated with work-study participation. However, the impact of curriculum does not disappear for work-study participants: males especially are more likely to rate their work-study jobs highly on these dimensions if they also are vocational students than if they are in either of the two other curricula. Work-study females, on the other hand, are about equally likely to report at least considerable skill learning and use whether or not they are in vocational programs. This difference between the sexes is due to the much higher job ratings given by females than males in the college-preparatory and general programs.

The positive relationship between skill use and work intensity mentioned earlier in this report continues to be true primarily for males in work-study programs.

Job Stress and Interference. Despite the relationship noted earlier between stress caused by the job and the number of hours worked on it, there appears to be little relaxation of tension associated with being able to exchange time at school for time at work. About three out of every four working seniors experience at least a little stress from their jobs, whether they are in work-study programs or not.

Neither curriculum nor work-study participation have much bearing on the proportions of males reporting stress; only among the college-preparatory males with work-study jobs do distinctly higher proportions report more than a little stress (48% vs. 36%−40%). Among females not in work-study, slightly higher proportions in vocational programs say that their jobs cause stress and tension to more than a little extent (49%) than do females in the other two programs (41% to 43%). Interestingly, this relationship is reversed for the work-study females, with fewer in the vocational program than in the college-preparatory or general programs reporting more than a little stress (38% vs. 42% and 46%).

The effect of hours worked observed for the total sample (Figure 2) extends to those in work-study programs. Overall, seniors working more than thirty hours reported more job stress than those working ten or fewer hours (subgroup differences generally ranged between one-fourth and three-fourths of a standard deviation). The one exception to this

generalization involves vocational females with work-study jobs: within this subgroup we found no relationship between stress and work intensity.

Being in a work-study job does appear to lessen the perception that the job interferes with the seniors' education, although the effect is not large, and differs in unexpected ways within the same-sex subgroups. For example, vocational females in work-study jobs are much less likely to report interference with education (30%) than any other female subgroup, but males are more uniform in this regard. And, college-preparatory males who are not in work-study programs actually report very slightly less interference than their work-study counterparts. Reports of job interference with family life are very similar. Being in a work-study program has a much more profound effect on the numbers of seniors who report that their social lives are being dampened by their jobs, despite the nearly equal overall proportions who report some stress and tension. Thus, while only about a quarter of vocational students not in work-study jobs report no interference with social life, over 40% of vocational students in work-study programs say that their jobs do not interfere. Curriculum has little further effect on these differences, but the effect of work intensity mentioned earlier remains, with the largest increases appearing after ten hours and again after twenty-five or thirty hours (depending on curriculum/work-study participation).

"Kids' Jobs" Versus "Real Jobs". While seniors in vocational programs are more likely to respond to items D07a-e in ways that characterize their jobs as intrinsically valuable and relevant, work-study participation appears to be the most important mitigator against working in a "just-for-kids" job. Half again as many vocational students with work-study jobs as those without view their jobs as ones that they would be happy to do and expect to do for the rest of their lives. The impact of work-study participation is no less strong for students in college-preparatory programs, and is nearly as strong among the "general" group, perhaps indicating a greater mix of types of paid work-study jobs, as opposed to jobs not school-monitored, to fit the varied aspirations represented by the three curricula. In fact, nearly equal proportions of work-study students in college-preparatory programs and vocational programs view their jobs to a great extent as stepping stones, although the overall "fit" between work-study job and career aspiration is closest for vocational seniors. Again, work intensity appears to have little consistent effect on how positive the seniors' attitudes are about the intrinsic value and salience of their jobs. Only at the very highest (30-plus-hour) levels do small increases occur.

Whether or not seniors view their jobs as ones people normally do just for the money—one possible measure of the job's extrinsic value—is strongly related to work-study participation only for the college-preparatory and vocational females in our sample. Eighty percent of all the other subgroups are fairly evenly distributed among the positive response alternatives, while these two female groups are nearly twice as likely to dismiss such a characterization of the paid work-study jobs they currently hold. We know from Table 6 that the hourly earnings of female seniors in general are substantially smaller than males', and the very slightly smaller proportions of females reporting that their jobs are the type people do just for the money may partially reflect this wage disparity. However, females also find their jobs more interesting (see the first item in Table 9-6). Whether the much smaller proportion of these work-study females saying that they work in "just-for-money" jobs is mostly due to their lower wages, or to the greater intrinsic benefits which their jobs provide, is an interesting question for future analysis.

The Role of Teachers and Counselors. The slightly greater proportions of seniors not planning to graduate from a four-year college who report some help from their teachers/counselors in attaining their jobs appear to be mostly vocational students and work-study participants, as Table 9-7 indicates. Among those not in work-study, vocational males

were three times as likely to give a lot of credit to their teachers/counselors (10%) as males in college-preparatory programs (3%), and almost twice as likely as males in the general programs (6%). The effect of curriculum on the school assistance given nonwork-study females is slightly weaker, but in the same direction. As expected, work-study seniors are much more likely to have gotten help, although the sex difference in proportions reporting any help, as well as in the perceived magnitude of such help, may be surprising: work-study females are up to twice as likely to have received help, and to report receiving a great amount, as male participants.

Are school personnel more apt to steer their students into jobs with shorter hours? The data suggest that this may be the case for work-study participants, especially the males. Those reporting ten or fewer hours also report, on the average, considerable help from the school, and the averages decrease in a fairly linear fashion to little or no help at all after thirty hours. Female work-study seniors report more school assistance at all levels of hours worked, although they, too, report less help as their work hours increase. (Among seniors not in work-study programs, there is no relationship between weekly hours worked and receiving assistance from school.) As indicated above, one plausible interpretation of these data is that teachers try to steer their work-study students into jobs which require fewer hours per week, and that such steering is more likely to occur when students seek (or require) more help from teachers. But, of course, other interpretations of this correlation are possible. One alternative explanation, for example, would reverse the causal direction: students who are less able to obtain (or sustain) longer-hour jobs may require more help from teachers in getting any job, even one with more limited hours.

Overall Job Satisfaction. It should be evident by now that work-study seniors perceive their jobs as more worthwhile than seniors whose jobs are not in some way connected with school, offering them more opportunities for cross-age and cross-cultural interactions, skill development, and doing interesting things. Hence, it comes as no surprise that more work-study participants are generally satisfied with their paid jobs than are their peers (Table 9–8). And, although from cognitive dissonance theory we might predict higher levels of job satisfaction among the seniors putting in the most number of weekly hours, work intensity actually makes little or no contribution to overall job satisfaction, even after controlling for college plans, sex, curriculum, and work-study participation.

Table 5

Average Hours per Week Worked by Seniors in a Paid Job for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Subgroup Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

Weekly Hours of Work During the School Year[a]	Percentages of...				
		Males		Females	
	Total	College-bound	Noncollege-bound	College-bound	Noncollege-bound
None	20.4	19.6	14.5	23.1	23.9
5 or <	7.7	9.1	6.1	8.6	6.4
6–10	9.7	10.9	8.2	10.4	8.6
11–15	11.7	12.2	9.0	14.0	10.6
16–20	17.7	18.1	15.0	19.4	17.8
21–25	13.9	13.8	15.5	12.6	14.2
26–30	8.9	8.4	12.4	6.6	9.0
31+	9.9	7.9	19.3	5.3	9.5
Number of cases	69619	19085	13345	19521	14327

[a]Excluded from these distributions are 1) seniors who report working on a job (Q. C23) but that they earn no money from their work (Q. C24a), and 2) seniors who report earnings from work but check category 1 ("None") on question C23.

Table 6

Average Weekly Earnings
for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1982-1984, Combined

C24a: During an average week, how much money do you get from...	Percentages of...				
		Males		Females	
	Total	College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
A job or other work:					
1. None	22.1	21.2	16.2	24.9	25.5
2. $1–5	3.6	3.4	3.1	4.2	3.7
3. $6–10	4.2	3.9	4.1	4.7	4.2
4. $11–20	6.0	6.1	5.7	6.6	5.6
5. $21–35	9.9	10.6	8.1	10.9	9.6
6. $36–50	13.1	13.8	11.0	14.8	12.2
7. $51–75	18.2	18.4	17.5	18.2	18.4
8. $76–125	16.9	16.6	23.3	12.8	16.5
9. $126+	5.9	6.1	10.9	3.0	4.3
Number of Cases	41531	11289	8058	11737	8433

Number of hours worked per week during the school year	Mean weekly earnings for working seniors				
5 or <	$21.20	$20.68	$25.55	$17.32	$21.43
6–10	$31.15	$32.37	$36.35	$27.77	$29.26
11–15	$42.53	$44.74	$45.36	$40.35	$40.56
16–20	$60.29	$61.98	$61.39	$58.31	$58.90
21–25	$74.98	$77.87	$76.34	$72.40	$72.83
26–30	$90.24	$93.82	$93.28	$87.42	$84.91
31+	$98.84	$104.58	$103.55	$88.85	$89.99
Number of Cases	32256	8872	6722	8800	6270

Table 7-1

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Job Status and Intensity for the Total Sample and Four Subgroups
Classes of 1982–84, Combined

		Total	Males		Females	
			College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
4D03a:	Which best describes your recent employment experience?					
	1. I have a paid job now.	63.5	64.1	65.8	62.5	61.9
	2. No paid job now, but I had one during the past 3 months.	9.1	8.9	11.0	8.6	7.9
	3. No paid job in the past 3 months— GO TO QUESTION D10	19.1	20.8	18.4	18.7	18.4
	4. Never had a paid job— GO TO QUESTION D10	8.3	6.2	4.9	10.2	11.8
	Number of cases	8568	2352	1686	2401	1692
	The next questions are about your present or most recent paid job. (If you presently hold more than one paid job, answer for the more important one.)					
D03b:	On the average, how many hours per week do (did) you work on this particular job?					
	1. 5 or less hours	7.7	6.5	7.9	9.0	7.8
	2. 6 to 10 hours	12.2	14.1	8.3	13.0	12.6
	3. 11 to 15 hours	15.6	17.4	11.1	18.8	14.4
	4. 16 to 20 hours	23.1	23.3	18.5	25.1	25.3
	5. 21 to 25 hours	17.7	17.5	16.6	16.9	19.3
	6. 26 to 30 hours	11.2	9.5	15.5	10.5	10.4
	7. 31 to 35 hours	5.2	5.2	9.7	2.7	4.0
	8. 36 or more hours	7.3	6.5	12.5	3.9	6.2
	Number of cases	6391	1753	1322	1763	1215

Table 7-2

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs:
Age Makeup of Workplace and Cross-Age and -Cultural Interaction
for the Total Sample and Four Subgroups
Classes of 1982-84, Combined

	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
D04: About how old is (was) your supervisor?					
1. Age 20 or younger	2.8	2.9	3.6	2.2	2.4
2. 21 to 25	14.2	12.5	14.6	14.1	16.2
3. 26 to 30	23.5	23.7	22.6	23.5	24.4
4. 31 or older	59.5	60.9	59.2	60.2	56.9
Number of cases	6358	1734	1328	1746	1210
D05: How many of the other workers are within 2 or 3 years of your own age?					
1. None	20.3	16.8	23.6	20.0	22.6
2. A few	30.0	28.9	30.9	28.4	32.9
3. About half	14.3	14.5	13.8	14.1	13.6
4. Most	13.7	15.9	12.4	13.9	11.0
5. Nearly all	15.3	16.0	13.0	17.2	14.7
6. All	6.5	7.9	6.3	6.4	5.1
Number of cases	6340	1735	1314	1743	1204
4D06: To what extent does (did) this job ...					
(d) Let you get to know people with social backgrounds very different from yours?					
1. Not at all	18.5	20.0	21.3	16.0	17.9
2. A little	22.7	24.5	23.6	21.5	21.3
3. Some extent	22.7	22.0	24.6	21.9	22.4
4. Considerable extent	18.3	17.8	17.7	18.8	19.1
5. A great extent	17.9	15.8	12.9	21.8	19.3
Number of cases	6271	1710	1283	1731	1204
(e) Let you get to know people over age 30?					
1. Not at all	11.8	12.0	13.7	11.4	10.1
2. A little	16.8	19.7	19.5	14.3	13.6
3. Some extent	21.7	24.2	23.9	19.0	20.5
4. Considerable extent	22.1	22.0	21.0	23.3	22.6
5. A great extent	27.5	22.1	21.9	32.0	33.2
Number of cases	6258	1711	1276	1732	1200

Table 7–3

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Skill Acquisition and Use
for the Total Sample and Four Subgroups
Classes of 1982–84, Combined

	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
4D06: To what extent does (did) this job...					
(a) Use your skills and abilities—let you do the things you do best?					
1. Not at all	20.2	24.6	20.1	19.3	16.7
2. A little	29.6	32.3	25.9	30.6	29.1
3. Some extent	25.4	22.9	25.7	26.1	27.5
4. Considerable extent	13.8	11.1	13.6	14.0	16.6
5. A great extent	11.0	9.2	14.8	10.0	10.0
Number of cases	6319	1721	1299	1742	1211
(b) Teach you new skills that will be useful in your future work?					
1. Not at all	24.1	28.9	23.1	22.0	21.5
2. A little	25.3	27.2	24.7	25.7	23.8
3. Some extent	21.0	20.1	19.8	22.0	21.8
4. Considerable extent	15.7	12.8	17.3	17.2	16.0
5. A great extent	13.9	11.0	15.2	13.1	16.9
Number of cases	6310	1719	1295	1741	1210
(c) Make good use of special skills you learned in technical, vocational, business, or professional studies?					
1. Not at all	53.1	59.3	46.9	54.9	50.8
2. A little	17.6	18.5	17.8	18.4	14.7
3. Some extent	12.9	11.2	15.8	11.8	13.5
4. Considerable extent	8.8	6.0	11.4	7.0	11.8
5. A great extent	7.6	5.1	8.0	8.0	9.2
Number of cases	6265	1709	1263	1728	1204

Table 7-4

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Stress and Interference
for the Total Sample and Four Subgroups
Classes of 1982–84, Combined

	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
4D06: To what extent does (did) this job...					
(f) Cause you stress and tension?					
1. Not at all	25.3	27.6	27.3	24.1	22.0
2. A little	33.7	33.6	33.7	31.8	37.1
3. Some extent	21.8	21.4	21.9	23.9	19.4
4. Considerable extent	10.6	10.5	9.7	11.6	10.4
5. A great extent	8.6	7.0	7.4	8.7	11.1
Number of cases	6261	1708	1280	1731	1203
(g) Interfere with your education?					
1. Not at all	50.1	46.6	50.5	48.9	57.0
2. A little	27.2	30.0	25.0	29.8	23.0
3. Some extent	13.8	14.7	15.6	13.1	11.9
4. Considerable extent	5.1	5.0	5.8	4.6	5.3
5. A great extent	3.7	3.7	3.2	3.7	2.9
Number of cases	6252	1710	1273	1726	1201
(h) Interfere with your social life?					
1. Not at all	28.0	23.6	29.7	27.1	32.5
2. A little	31.4	31.8	30.9	33.2	30.3
3. Some extent	20.2	22.0	19.1	19.8	19.6
4. Considerable extent	11.7	14.3	11.2	11.3	9.2
5. A great extent	8.7	8.3	9.0	8.6	8.4
Number of cases	6252	1707	1270	1731	1202
(i) Interfere with your family life?					
1. Not at all	50.1	46.7	49.4	51.0	54.4
2. A little	24.6	26.8	24.5	24.9	21.7
3. Some extent	14.7	15.8	14.5	13.4	14.6
4. Considerable extent	6.6	7.4	6.3	7.0	4.9
5. A great extent	4.1	3.2	5.3	3.6	4.4
Number of cases	6251	1704	1278	1733	1196

Table 7-5

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Relevance for Career Expectations for the Total Sample and Four Subgroups
Classes of 1982-84, Combined

	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
4D07: To what extent is (was) this job...					
(b) A job you COULD be happy doing for most of your life?					
1. Not at all	63.5	71.9	52.4	70.6	55.7
2. A little	12.0	10.7	12.8	12.3	12.9
3. Some extent	10.0	8.8	13.2	6.8	11.9
4. Considerable extent	7.5	4.5	10.5	5.5	10.6
5. A great extent	7.0	4.1	11.1	4.8	8.9
Number of cases	6206	1692	1261	1728	1193
(c) The type of work you EXPECT to be doing for most of your life?					
1. Not at all	72.6	81.3	58.6	81.2	65.6
2. A little	9.2	7.6	12.7	7.4	9.3
3. Some extent	7.1	5.1	11.4	5.1	8.8
4. Considerable extent	5.2	2.8	7.8	3.0	8.4
5. A great extent	5.9	3.2	9.2	3.4	7.9
Number of cases	6206	1699	1260	1720	1197
(d) A good stepping-stone toward the kind of work you want in the long run?					
1. Not at all	53.2	60.8	45.9	55.3	48.5
2. A little	17.4	17.3	17.9	18.7	15.8
3. Some extent	10.0	8.5	11.7	9.4	10.6
4. Considerable extent	8.3	6.4	10.4	6.6	11.1
5. A great extent	11.1	7.0	14.2	9.9	14.0
Number of cases	6204	1695	1256	1719	1194

Table 7-6

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Intrinsic and Extrinsic Value
for the Total Sample and Four Subgroups
Classes of 1982-84, Combined

	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
4D07: To what extent is (was) this job...					
(a) An interesting job to do?					
1. Not at all	16.5	20.5	17.3	14.6	13.2
2. A little	25.0	28.5	24.9	23.5	23.7
3. Some extent	26.2	24.7	23.8	27.7	28.2
4. Considerable extent	17.8	15.3	17.8	20.3	17.4
5. A great extent	14.4	11.0	16.1	13.9	17.5
Number of cases	6235	1698	1269	1728	1199
(e) The kind of work people do just for the money?					
1. Not at all	21.1	17.3	20.7	21.8	26.1
2. A little	18.2	16.3	22.0	17.6	18.6
3. Some extent	19.2	19.2	20.9	17.6	19.9
4. Considerable extent	16.4	18.2	14.3	15.9	16.0
5. A great extent	25.1	29.0	22.1	27.2	19.4
Number of cases	6181	1690	1258	1714	1188

Table 7–7

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Relationship to School for the Total Sample and Four Subgroups
Classes of 1982–84, Combined

	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
4D08: To what extent did any high school teacher or counselor help you get this job?					
1. Not at all	78.9	85.4	75.6	80.7	71.7
2. A little	4.6	3.9	6.3	3.1	5.6
3. Some extent	4.4	3.1	6.6	3.4	5.1
4. Considerable extent	4.1	2.6	5.1	4.1	5.0
5. A great extent	8.1	4.9	6.4	8.7	12.7
Number of cases	6089	1664	1240	1689	1171
4D09: Is (was) this job part of a work-study program?					
1. Yes	17.8	8.9	20.4	16.2	28.8
2. No	82.2	91.1	79.6	83.8	71.2
Number of cases	6056	1644	1202	1710	1187

Table 7-8

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Overall Job Satisfaction
for the Total Sample and Four Subgroups
Classes of 1982-84, Combined

	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
4D02: For those who have a job: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your present job?					
1. Completely dissatisfied	4.5	3.6	5.7	4.2	3.9
2. Quite dissatisfied	9.6	9.9	8.9	9.8	9.6
3. Somewhat dissatisfied	13.6	13.3	13.1	13.5	14.3
4. Neither, or mixed feelings	16.2	18.0	18.5	13.8	13.8
5. Somewhat satisfied	26.0	28.0	24.4	27.2	24.6
6. Quite satisfied	23.7	22.6	22.1	24.7	26.8
7. Completely satisfied	6.5	4.6	7.2	6.8	7.0
Number of cases	6136	1683	1311	1637	1162

Table 8

Present Job Interest and Career Expectations:
Means by Number of Hours Worked per Week
for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1982-1984, Combined

4D07: To what extent is (was) this job...[a]	Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
			College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
(a) An interesting job to do	1-10	2.855	2.631	2.667	2.992	3.088
	11-20	2.760	2.576	2.670	2.833	2.954
	21-30	2.920	2.718	2.932	3.011	3.015
	31+	3.236	2.982	3.319	3.454	3.182
	eta adj.	*.119*	*.093*	*.207*	*.110*	*.015*
	r	*.093*	*.084*	*.193*	*.066*	*.024*
(b) A job you COULD be happy doing for most of your life?	1-10	1.878	1.746	1.966	1.693	2.230
	11-20	1.658	1.460	1.924	1.506	1.969
	21-30	1.784	1.522	2.132	1.597	1.879
	31+	2.247	1.760	2.536	2.136	2.322
	eta adj.	*.168*	*.123*	*.215*	*.133*	*.125*
	r	*.051*	*.009*	*.158*	*.046*	*−.014*
(c) The type of work you EXPECT to be doing for most of your life?	1-10	1.652	1.498	1.831	1.513	1.877
	11-20	1.479	1.302	1.733	1.301	1.793
	21-30	1.606	1.363	1.947	1.363	1.773
	31+	1.983	1.511	2.299	1.789	1.992
	eta adj.	*.154*	*.123*	*.211*	*.135*	*.000*
	r	*.088*	*.018*	*.154*	*.031*	*.013*
(d) A good stepping-stone toward the kind of work you want in the long run?	1-10	2.010	1.809	2.051	1.970	2.289
	11-20	1.938	1.713	2.100	1.873	2.206
	21-30	2.064	1.788	2.255	2.024	2.186
	31+	2.479	2.151	2.699	2.384	2.534
	eta adj.	*.127*	*.105*	*.176*	*.082*	*.078*
	r	*.101*	*.079*	*.158*	*.069*	*.042*
(e) The kind of work people do just for the money?	1-10	3.006	3.134	3.067	2.924	2.890
	11-20	3.145	3.308	3.041	3.237	2.799
	21-30	3.110	3.389	2.997	3.051	2.942
	31+	2.812	2.980	2.759	2.644	2.622
	eta adj.	*.068*	*.077*	*.069*	*.100*	*.075*
	r	*−.031*	*−.006*	*−.065*	*−.016*	*−.040*

[a] Answer categories are (1) Not at all, (2) A little, (3) Some extent, (4) Considerable extent, (5) A great extent.

Table 9–1

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Job Status and Intensity by Sex, High School Program, and Work Study Participation Classes of 1982–84, Combined

	Males						Females					
	College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech		College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech	
	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study
4D03a: Which best describes your recent employment experience?												
1. I have a paid job now	88.9	93.0	85.6	90.6	83.9	98.0	87.0	94.1	87.2	92.0	89.1	93.4
2. No paid job now, but I had one during the past 3 months	11.1	7.0	14.4	9.4	16.1	2.0	13.0	5.9	12.8	8.0	10.9	6.6
Number of cases	1250	89	667	149	357	124	1220	198	668	227	242	142
The next questions are about your present or most recent paid job. (If you presently hold more than one paid job, answer for the more important one.)												
4D03b: On the average, how many hours per week do (did) you work on this particular job?												
1. 5 or less hours	7.1	0.0	8.0	4.0	5.5	3.6	9.5	5.0	8.7	7.4	6.5	2.6
2. 6 to 10 hours	13.4	13.1	8.7	6.5	11.2	4.2	14.1	2.9	14.3	8.1	16.3	7.5
3. 11 to 15 hours	17.6	14.0	14.0	10.7	14.1	8.2	21.5	13.4	13.4	14.0	16.6	9.0
4. 16 to 20 hours	24.4	19.1	22.0	19.5	15.9	18.7	24.4	32.0	25.0	22.3	22.0	34.6
5. 21 to 25 hours	17.4	20.0	16.3	18.0	18.4	17.9	15.0	26.2	20.0	29.5	15.9	18.4
6. 26 to 30 hours	9.0	18.7	13.5	15.7	13.7	20.7	9.9	11.5	10.3	9.9	10.0	17.5
7. 31 to 35 hours	5.5	7.9	6.8	14.5	9.1	8.9	2.3	3.8	3.0	2.2	7.4	5.9
8. 36 or more hours	5.6	7.2	10.7	11.1	12.1	17.7	3.4	5.2	5.3	6.6	5.2	4.5
Mean number of hours	18.4	21.5	20.6	23.1	21.4	24.5	16.9	20.4	18.1	19.5	18.5	20.9
Number of cases	1291	87	703	150	369	123	1265	205	688	227	255	144

Table 9-2

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Age Makeup of Workplace and Cross-Age and –Cultural Interaction by Sex, High School Program, and Work Study Participation
Classes of 1982–84, Combined

	Males						Females					
	College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech		College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech	
	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study
4D04: About how old is (was) your supervisor?												
1. 20 or less hours	2.5	0.9	2.6	3.0	5.1	1.9	2.1	0.2	2.4	1.2	1.9	2.7
2. 21 to 25 hours	14.2	5.0	14.0	12.1	10.4	13.0	15.7	16.3	17.0	11.6	15.2	7.9
3. 26 to 30 hours	23.3	30.0	21.7	26.8	23.8	26.0	23.1	19.8	23.7	25.6	28.4	16.6
4. 31 or more hours	60.0	64.0	61.7	58.1	60.7	59.1	59.1	63.7	56.9	61.5	54.5	72.9
Number of cases	1277	90	710	150	363	125	1254	206	696	231	255	144
4D05: How many of the other workers are within 2 or 3 years of your own age?												
1. None	16.6	20.5	20.4	24.4	21.4	24.5	18.1	28.1	18.8	27.6	19.5	32.0
2. A few	27.5	35.8	30.0	34.6	31.7	31.7	27.2	39.2	29.3	31.8	32.7	47.2
3. About half	14.9	11.3	16.1	12.6	14.6	13.4	14.7	11.9	13.8	17.3	12.3	6.1
4. Most	16.2	13.4	13.3	10.4	12.9	10.0	15.0	3.6	13.4	10.6	14.2	1.7
5. Nearly all	17.0	8.0	13.8	11.1	13.8	9.5	18.2	8.8	18.2	11.5	16.9	7.9
6. All	7.7	11.0	6.5	7.0	5.5	11.0	6.8	8.3	6.5	1.1	4.3	5.1
Number of cases	1278	92	710	150	367	123	1256	206	695	232	256	143
4D06: To what extent does (did) this job...												
(d) Let you get to know people with social backgrounds very different from yours?												
1. Not at all	19.2	18.1	25.4	18.2	19.3	13.0	16.9	11.6	18.8	11.2	18.3	10.9
2. A little	26.6	32.8	20.9	22.8	24.2	14.5	20.5	22.7	23.7	20.7	19.8	22.7
3. Some extent	21.2	12.2	24.8	24.9	26.1	31.9	23.8	24.3	20.8	20.4	16.4	17.8
4. Considerable extent	17.8	23.1	15.7	19.0	17.1	22.7	18.9	18.9	16.8	24.0	20.3	23.9
5. A great extent	15.2	13.8	13.3	15.2	13.3	17.9	19.9	22.5	19.8	23.6	25.2	24.7
Number of cases	1289	92	712	152	369	127	1261	206	701	231	258	144
(e) Let you get to know people over age 30?												
1. Not at all	11.7	9.6	13.8	11.1	15.2	10.4	12.3	8.6	11.6	6.3	11.2	1.7
2. A little	20.8	23.8	18.7	18.5	16.8	8.2	15.1	8.4	16.5	14.0	12.4	7.7
3. Some extent	23.3	20.6	24.3	31.8	22.0	27.1	20.0	14.4	19.1	17.9	17.8	15.0
4. Considerable extent	22.1	35.0	19.8	14.9	20.8	32.4	22.2	26.1	23.7	23.3	19.7	29.0
5. A great extent	22.1	11.1	23.4	23.7	25.3	22.0	30.4	42.5	29.0	38.4	38.9	46.6
Number of cases	1292	91	710	151	370	128	1261	206	702	230	259	144

Table 9–3

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Skill Acquisition and Use by Sex, High School Program, and Work Study Participation Classes of 1982–84, Combined

	Males						Females					
	College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech		College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech	
	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study
4D06: To what extent does (did) this job...												
(a) Use your skills and abilities – let you do the things you do best?												
1. Not at all	25.0	15.6	25.8	17.0	18.6	10.9	19.6	10.7	20.8	8.5	21.9	7.8
2. A little	33.4	25.6	28.1	20.5	34.0	16.3	33.1	19.2	33.1	26.4	27.6	16.0
3. Some	22.8	30.3	24.3	32.8	20.9	21.0	27.2	28.2	23.5	29.7	26.2	33.1
4. Considerable extent	10.3	17.2	9.5	19.4	13.3	29.3	12.7	26.2	13.3	23.1	13.4	21.1
5. A great extent	8.5	11.3	12.3	10.3	13.1	22.6	7.3	15.6	9.3	12.3	10.9	22.1
Number of cases	1293	92	712	152	371	129	1265	207	701	232	261	144
(b) Teach you new skills that will be useful in your future work?												
1. Not at all	30.2	20.2	27.5	16.3	25.6	10.8	23.6	9.4	28.0	13.0	21.4	14.6
2. A little	28.9	20.3	25.8	26.9	26.8	13.9	28.6	14.8	25.7	17.5	28.1	9.5
3. Some	19.4	16.4	20.1	19.3	17.8	22.8	22.0	22.7	21.3	24.2	19.5	19.5
4. Considerable extent	12.5	23.4	13.3	19.7	14.5	24.5	15.2	28.0	15.0	20.0	13.3	23.0
5. A great extent	9.0	19.7	13.4	17.7	15.3	28.1	10.6	25.2	9.9	25.3	17.7	33.3
Number of cases	1293	92	712	152	371	127	1264	207	702	232	261	144
(c) Make good use of special skills you learned in technical, vocational, business, or professional studies?												
1. Not at all	62.9	34.7	59.5	42.7	44.8	22.0	61.8	23.5	62.1	31.0	51.5	20.7
2. A little	19.0	24.7	16.0	20.1	18.3	11.6	16.6	17.4	15.7	21.1	16.1	13.6
3. Some	9.8	12.8	11.2	17.1	16.3	22.2	11.4	17.9	10.8	20.0	8.9	21.3
4. Considerable extent	4.8	19.9	7.7	14.1	8.5	25.1	4.8	18.2	7.2	13.6	12.8	25.0
5. A great extent	3.5	7.9	5.7	5.9	12.1	19.1	5.4	23.1	4.2	14.3	10.7	19.4
Number of cases	1287	92	710	152	370	129	1258	206	695	231	260	144

Table 9-4

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Stress and Interference by Sex, High School Program, and Work Study Participation Classes of 1982-84, Combined

	Males						Females					
	College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech		College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech	
	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study
4D06: To what extent does (did) this job...												
(f) Cause you stress and tension?												
1. Not at all	28.2	16.9	30.5	28.0	27.0	25.8	23.1	23.4	23.9	23.3	18.8	26.6
2. A little	34.0	35.6	32.8	35.6	33.2	38.3	35.2	34.5	32.9	30.7	32.2	35.4
3. Some	21.7	25.9	21.8	20.7	20.9	14.8	21.9	27.0	21.1	23.5	24.3	18.6
4. Considerable extent	9.4	16.6	8.2	11.9	9.9	12.1	10.8	6.3	10.9	13.6	12.2	8.1
5. A great extent	6.7	5.0	6.6	3.8	9.0	9.0	8.9	8.8	11.1	8.8	12.6	11.3
Number of cases	1290	92	709	152	370	127	1263	207	702	232	260	144
(g) Interfere with your education?												
1. Not at all	47.2	44.7	49.1	55.4	50.1	54.7	47.9	56.2	56.3	58.8	48.1	69.7
2. A little	30.6	30.2	28.1	19.2	26.8	24.3	30.7	27.7	22.3	23.8	26.9	17.9
3. Some	15.0	10.9	12.8	16.9	14.5	15.5	13.0	10.7	13.6	11.1	11.7	7.1
4. Considerable extent	4.4	11.9	6.7	4.0	3.9	5.6	4.7	3.1	4.8	3.6	7.3	4.6
5. A great extent	2.8	2.4	3.3	4.5	4.6	0.0	3.7	2.4	3.0	2.7	6.0	0.7
Number of cases	1294	92	709	150	368	127	1261	205	702	232	261	144
(h) Interfere with your social life?												
1. Not at all	22.9	19.6	28.2	35.6	24.2	41.8	24.0	44.8	28.0	40.5	28.6	43.8
2. A little	32.8	43.6	31.6	29.4	31.9	22.8	35.4	31.6	30.9	25.1	24.6	29.0
3. Some	21.6	20.1	18.5	16.0	22.6	16.7	20.8	13.0	21.3	19.5	20.6	12.8
4. Considerable extent	14.6	9.7	11.8	9.6	10.0	11.5	11.8	6.6	10.7	7.4	13.5	8.6
5. A great extent	8.1	7.0	10.0	9.4	11.3	7.2	8.0	4.1	9.1	7.5	12.8	5.8
Number of cases	1294	92	707	152	365	127	1263	207	700	230	261	143
(i) Interfere with your family life?												
1. Not at all	46.4	41.6	50.7	56.4	46.4	50.6	49.1	61.6	55.2	59.5	47.0	60.4
2. A little	28.4	31.4	24.1	22.2	26.0	19.7	25.4	21.5	23.7	18.9	24.0	20.1
3. Some	14.5	16.4	14.9	10.5	15.5	18.2	14.9	10.8	12.0	12.4	13.9	11.9
4. Considerable extent	8.0	8.8	5.2	5.7	6.6	8.8	7.4	4.2	5.7	5.6	6.5	3.0
5. A great extent	2.7	1.7	5.0	5.2	5.4	2.7	3.1	1.9	3.5	3.7	8.5	4.6
Number of cases	1292	92	709	152	368	127	1263	207	699	229	259	144

Table 9-5

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Relevance for Career Expectations by Sex, High School Program, and Work Study Participation Classes of 1982-84, Combined

	Males						Females					
	College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech		College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech	
	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study
4DO7: To what extent is (was) this job...												
(b) A job you COULD be happy doing for most of your life?												
1. Not at all	74.6	49.4	64.3	57.0	58.3	32.1	73.4	55.2	65.5	48.4	62.5	41.7
2. A little	10.7	13.3	11.1	13.0	10.9	12.4	12.4	13.2	13.5	15.0	10.1	14.2
3. Some	7.0	11.0	11.9	17.5	11.5	15.1	5.6	14.3	9.3	14.5	8.2	13.0
4. Considerable extent	3.7	11.8	5.4	3.8	10.1	23.4	4.9	11.4	5.6	12.6	10.5	18.4
5. A great extent	4.0	14.5	7.3	8.7	9.3	17.0	3.7	5.9	6.2	9.5	8.7	12.7
Number of cases	1290	89	711	152	371	129	1262	207	701	232	261	144
(c) The type of work you EXPECT to be doing for most of your life?												
1. Not at all	85.4	56.4	72.7	56.1	63.8	43.1	84.1	62.6	80.0	54.7	70.8	41.5
2. A little	6.9	14.0	9.1	21.6	9.0	11.2	6.3	14.1	7.5	11.9	7.5	13.7
3. Some	2.7	13.0	7.8	7.7	12.0	12.0	4.4	10.1	4.9	13.6	6.2	14.3
4. Considerable extent	2.1	4.6	4.0	6.4	7.5	19.8	2.3	8.1	4.3	9.0	7.6	16.5
5. A great extent	2.9	11.9	6.5	8.1	7.8	13.9	2.9	5.1	3.4	10.8	7.9	14.0
Number of cases	1291	89	708	152	368	127	1261	207	700	230	260	144
(d) A good stepping-stone toward the kind of work you want in the long run?												
1. Not at all	63.5	40.8	56.9	43.4	48.1	27.4	58.9	36.2	58.3	37.8	53.0	23.2
2. A little	17.1	19.7	17.0	25.2	18.9	13.3	19.3	12.2	17.7	13.8	17.8	12.4
3. Some	7.3	9.2	8.4	14.4	11.8	16.1	8.7	11.7	10.0	10.5	10.0	13.0
4. Considerable extent	5.7	8.9	6.4	7.3	10.3	18.0	4.9	17.7	6.8	13.7	6.1	27.7
5. A great extent	6.4	21.4	11.4	9.8	10.9	25.2	8.2	22.2	7.2	24.2	13.1	23.8
Number of cases	1292	90	711	152	366	129	1263	205	700	232	261	144

Table 9-6

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Intrinsic and Extrinsic Value
by Sex, High School Program, and Work Study Participation
Classes of 1982-84, Combined

	Males						Females					
	College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech		College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech	
	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study
4D07: To what extent is (was) this job...												
(a) An interesting job to do?												
1. Not at all	18.7	8.3	22.6	14.2	21.6	9.6	14.3	10.3	16.3	11.4	15.0	11.0
2. A little	30.2	25.8	26.9	22.8	23.7	15.1	25.2	15.1	27.2	18.4	23.0	12.0
3. Some	24.3	27.7	22.9	29.3	24.2	25.8	29.4	24.3	29.0	26.6	27.8	22.7
4. Considerable extent	15.6	21.4	14.1	21.7	17.5	26.4	18.8	30.7	14.9	22.5	15.4	28.3
5. A great extent	11.3	16.8	13.4	12.1	13.0	23.1	12.2	19.6	12.6	21.0	18.8	25.9
Number of cases	1293	90	708	152	368	129	1263	206	702	231	261	143
(e) The kind of work people do just for the money?												
1. Not at all	16.4	16.4	20.1	23.7	20.5	20.5	19.7	38.5	23.2	26.5	19.5	37.2
2. A little	17.2	21.4	15.6	23.7	18.1	28.7	18.8	21.9	14.4	21.8	15.8	20.6
3. Some	18.8	21.7	20.0	17.4	20.6	23.8	16.9	18.7	19.2	18.2	21.0	16.0
4. Considerable extent	18.4	19.3	17.4	17.5	15.0	10.0	15.9	5.7	19.2	14.7	20.5	11.7
5. A great extent	29.2	21.2	26.9	17.7	25.8	16.9	28.7	15.2	24.0	18.8	23.2	14.5
Number of cases	1288	90	708	148	371	127	1257	207	698	230	260	142

Table 9-7

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Relationship to School
by Sex, High School Program, and Work Study Participation
Classes of 1982-84, Combined

	Males						Females					
	College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech		College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech	
	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study
4D08: To what extent did any high school teacher or counselor help you get this job?												
1. Not at all	92.7	54.7	87.1	54.0	80.1	44.9	90.7	22.9	90.0	44.0	86.2	27.2
2. A little	2.3	10.4	3.4	13.0	3.9	10.1	2.9	9.1	2.0	10.3	4.3	5.9
3. Some	1.6	5.3	3.9	4.5	6.2	11.1	1.7	8.8	2.3	11.1	2.4	9.5
4. Considerable extent	1.4	3.5	1.5	11.1	3.9	18.9	1.7	19.4	2.1	7.8	4.4	12.9
5. A great extent	2.0	26.1	4.1	17.4	5.9	15.0	3.0	39.8	3.7	26.9	2.7	44.6
Number of cases	1277	90	693	149	362	122	1250	205	687	223	252	141
4D09: Is (was) this job part of a work-study program?												
1. Yes	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
2. No	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	00.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Number of cases	1296	93	714	152	373	129	1267	207	704	232	262	144

Table 9-8

Characteristics of Seniors' Most Current Jobs: Overall Job Satisfaction
by Sex, High School Program, and Work Study Participation
Classes of 1982-84, Combined

	Males						Females					
	College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech		College-Prep		General		Voc-Tech	
	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study	Not Work Study	Work Study
4D02: For those who have a job: All things considered, how satisfied are you with your present job?												
1. Completely dissatisfied	2.9	2.6	5.2	2.1	8.3	4.6	3.4	5.0	3.6	4.7	7.7	2.4
2. Quite dissatisfied	10.5	4.6	10.1	7.3	9.9	6.4	10.2	5.2	10.5	6.8	10.3	11.2
3. Somewhat dissatisfied	12.7	11.1	16.4	12.4	13.5	5.1	13.6	9.5	15.8	13.9	13.4	6.6
4. Neither or mixed feelings	17.1	12.8	18.2	20.2	13.6	15.2	12.9	13.4	13.6	10.4	15.0	12.9
5. Somewhat satisfied	28.5	38.4	24.2	28.6	27.0	30.2	28.1	26.3	27.1	25.3	22.5	25.9
6. Quite satisfied	23.9	22.8	21.0	21.0	21.8	28.0	25.3	37.0	23.9	28.9	21.0	31.9
7. Completely satisfied	4.4	7.8	4.8	8.4	6.0	10.4	6.4	3.6	5.5	10.0	10.1	9.0
Number of cases	1172	86	610	143	326	117	1112	194	609	216	225	133

Figure 1

Use and Acquisition of Skills on the Job, for Each Level of Weekly Hours Worked

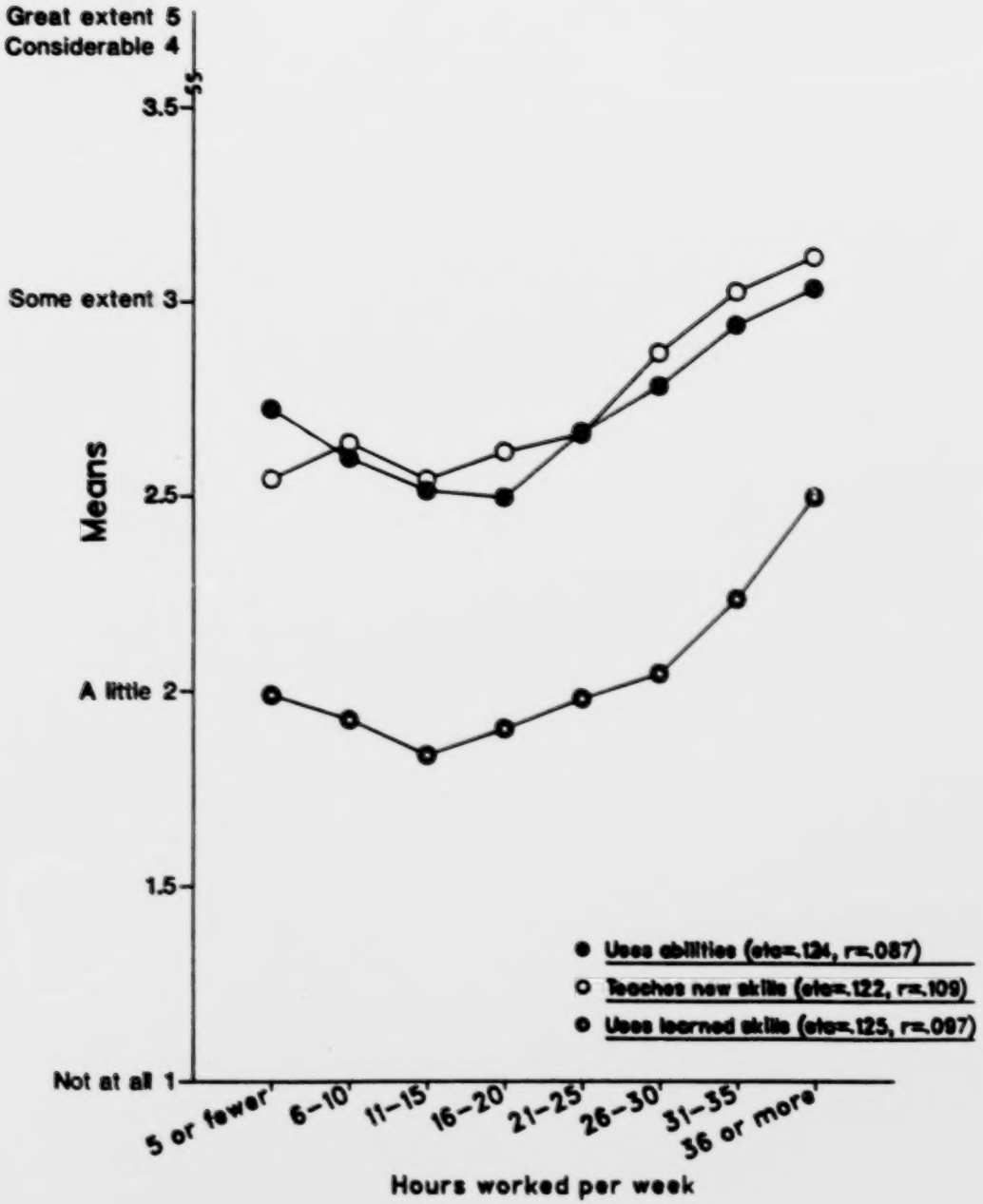


Figure 2

Amount of Stress, and Degree of Interference with Education, Social Life, and Family Life Attributed to Job, for Each Level of Weekly Hours Worked

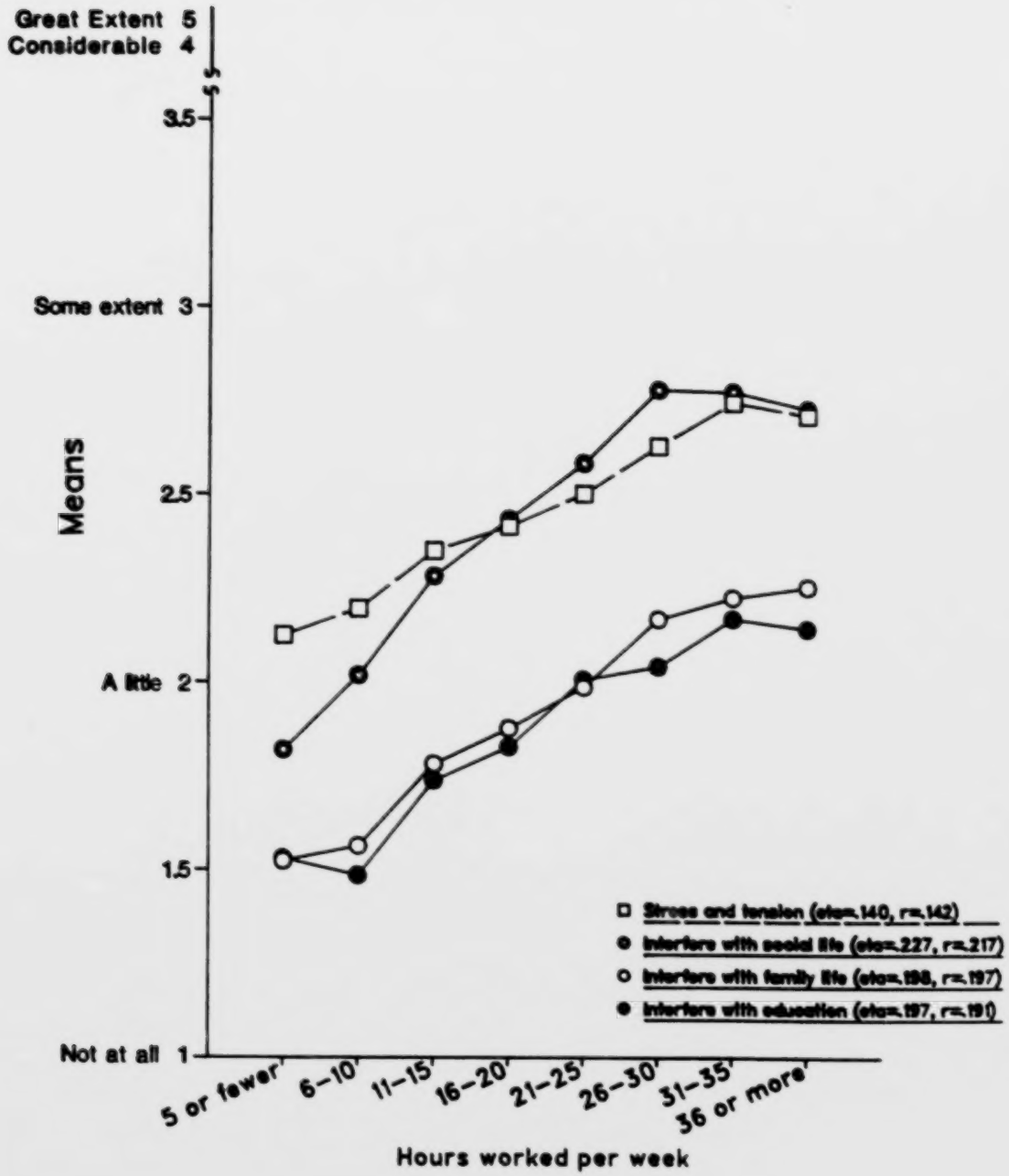
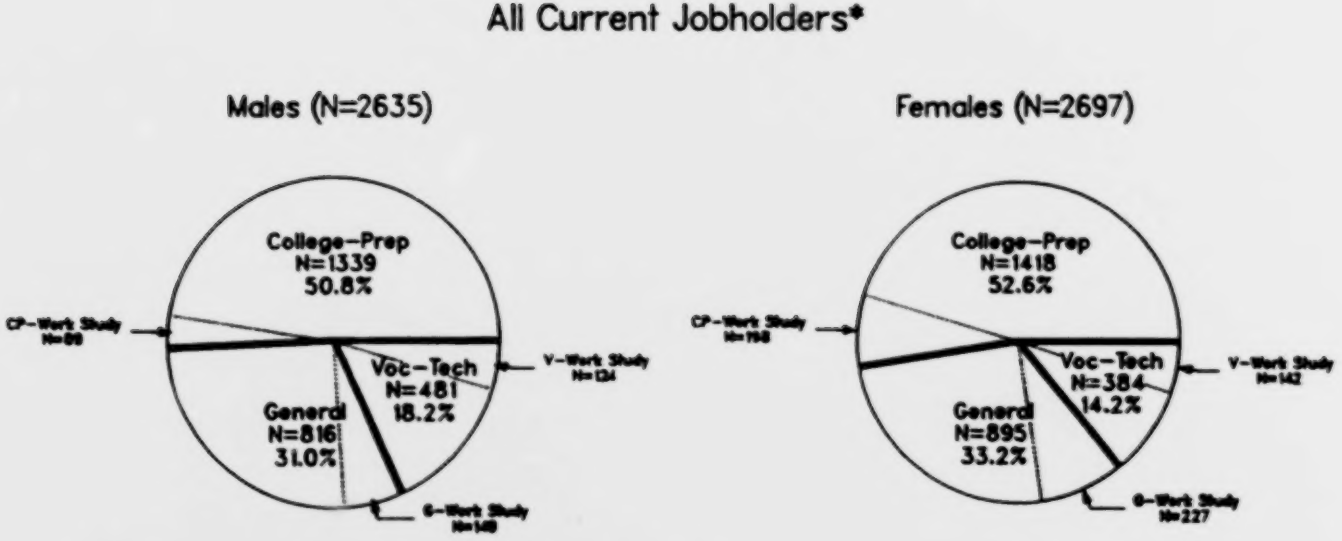


Figure 3

Work Study Participants in Each High School Program, by Sex



*High school program was determined by the question, "Which of the following best describes your present high school program?" Answer categories were "Academic or college prep," "general," "vocational, technical, or commercial," and "other, or don't know." The "Other" category was excluded from the population of jobholding seniors for this analysis.

SPENDING PATTERNS AND LEISURE ACTIVITIES

How Earnings are Spent. As we have seen in Table 6, over half of all seniors in our sample report earning more than $35 a week from their jobs; almost a quarter earn nearly $100 a week or more. This prompts an important concern about whether these young people are developing spending habits which could be short-sighted or even harmful to them in later life. This section will examine the ways in which working seniors spend their money, and the extent to which they save it.

A fairly popular assumption these days is that students should have a great deal of freedom in spending their part-time earnings, so that in making their own choices, and occasionally their own mistakes, they will get some reality experiences and "learn the value of the dollar." This is an attractive notion, at least in the abstract. In practice, however, it may be problematic. The problem is that the "reality" faced by the typical high school student with substantial part-time earnings is just not very realistic. In the absence of payments for rent, utilities, groceries, and the many other necessities routinely provided by parents, the typical student is likely to find that most or all of his/her earnings are available for discretionary spending. And given that many are earning in excess of $200 a month, it seems likely that some will experience what has been termed "premature affluence" (Bachman, 1983)—affluence because $200 or more per month represents a lot of "spending money" for a high school student, and premature because many of these individuals will not be able to sustain that level of discretionary spending once they leave home to take on the burdens of paying for their own necessities.

Table 10 displays the five spending questions found in Form 5, and the answers given by seniors from the classes of 1981 to 1984. When asked how much of their past year's earnings have gone into savings for their future education or for other long-range purposes, approximately half of the respondents indicated that they had put no earnings into such savings, while only one in ten saved much more than half of their earnings for future use. There is, of course, some difference related to future educational plans. Among those expecting to complete four years of college, 58% saved at least a little of their earnings for their future education, but only 13% saved most or all for that purpose. Among those not expecting to complete a four-year college program, the corresponding figures are 36% and 6%.

Question D05B deals with the extent of savings or payments for a car or car expenses. Among males a car clearly outranks saving for education and other long-range goals. For over a third of the males not planning to complete four years of college, car payments or savings for a car claim at least half their earnings, whereas among college-bound males it ranks slightly lower. Females are much less likely to be spending or saving on car expenses, although nearly half of the noncollege-bound females do at least a little.

The last question in Table 10 involves the extent to which seniors' earnings are used to help with family expenses. Over half report making no contributions to the family, one quarter report contributing a little, and only slightly more than one in twenty (5.7%) contributes most earnings.

This leaves us with the question dealing with the kinds of spending which are most relevant to the idea of "premature affluence." As anticipated, seniors report spending substantial portions of their earnings on discretionary items, such as stereos, records, TVs, etc. It would appear that most seniors do not save a great deal of their earnings, if any, for future purposes, nor do they use much of their earnings to help their families pay living expenses. They do, however, spend a substantial amount of their earnings on "non-

durable goods." This could lead to the development of "premature affluence," for which seniors will pay a price when they are faced with the reality of having to pay for necessities and living expenses later on in life.

Thus far in this section we have been talking about spending among all seniors taken as a whole. But we have already seen that there are large differences in the numbers of hours seniors work, and thus also in the amounts they earn and have available for spending. Do seniors working longer hours spend their larger earnings in ways different from their less affluent classmates? As may be seen in Table 11, the answer is clearly yes, when it comes to spending or saving for cars; the more seniors earn the greater the proportion of their earnings they devote to cars ($r=.30$). However, even those working twenty-six hours or more per week reported, on average, saving only "some" of their earnings for this purpose. In all other respects, we did not find strong and consistent correlations between hours worked and proportions of earnings spent in various categories. Thus, it does not appear that most seniors who work long hours are motivated to do so because they have greater needs for helping with family finances or saving for college. With the exception of car expenses (some of which might be directly work-related), the more heavily employed seniors differ from their classmates primarily in the amounts of money they earn, not in how they choose to spend it. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that if premature affluence is likely to be a problem among any high school seniors, the risks are greatest among those working the longest hours and thus earning the most.

Leisure Activities. As observed in the section on job characteristics, number of hours worked was positively associated with reported interference with social life. An item in one questionnaire form asked each respondent to rate how satisfied he is with the "amount of time you have for doing things you want to do." There is a modest negative correlation between weekly hours of work and this kind of satisfaction among seniors from the classes of 1980–84 ($eta=.131$, $r=-.126$), which holds after controlling for sex and college plans. However, the same seniors' responses to a related question, "How satisfied are you with the amount of fun you are having?" are not correlated with current work intensity ($eta=.049$, $r=-.038$). Similarly, there is no relationship between hours of work and how satisfied seniors are with the way they spend their leisure hours ($eta=.034$, $r=-.036$). Hence, while longer-working seniors do perceive that the quantity of their leisure time is diminished, they do not seem to feel any different than their counterparts about the quality of the time they have. Given this pattern, is it possible that in compensation for lost leisure hours, working seniors "play harder" than their peers? Are they perhaps more selective in the types of activities they engage in, so as not to lose out on any "fun?" What is the effect of earning personal spending money on the kinds of leisure activities selected? This section deals with whether seniors who work longer hours are more or less likely to engage in certain leisure activities, and whether the amount of time they spend doing them differs from that of their less job-involved peers.

Table 12 shows a tendency among the longer working seniors to date more often, but little difference linked to frequency of going out for fun and recreation. While nearly all correlations in Table 13 are quite weak, there is an apparent pattern of increasing engagement in social activities, coupled with a decreasing amount of time spent in solitary pursuits, as current work intensity increases. For example, longer working seniors are more likely to go to parties and taverns, and less likely to spend their extra time alone, watching television, or playing music. These differences are very likely related to the notion of "premature affluence," as discussed earlier in this section. We also mentioned the fairly strong positive correlation between hours of work and the proportions of earnings going into car payments—a finding that is consistent with the positive correlation between hours of work and "riding around in a car just for fun," and an indication of the increased

amount of independent mobility enjoyed by longer-working seniors. Undoubtedly signs of this independence are their greater propensity to visit bars, go to parties, and go shopping. These patterns may also denote an increase in working seniors' sense of maturity, as financial resources and mobility are separated from parental control.

There are very slight negative relationships between the work hours of males and the amount of time they spend reading, doing creative writing, and participating in sports. Leisure activities which are apparently unrelated to the number of work hours for either sex include working around the house, volunteering in community work, and attendance and participation in artistic activities.

Table 10

Ways in Which High School Seniors Divide their Earnings: Percentage Distributions for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1981–1984, Combined

5D05: About how much of your past year's earnings have gone into:	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
(a) Savings for your future education					
1. None	48.9	38.2	62.3	40.8	62.1
2. A little	22.0	26.5	18.8	22.0	19.0
3. Some	11.6	13.0	8.7	13.8	9.2
4. About half	7.1	8.1	5.1	9.3	4.3
5. Most	5.8	8.4	2.7	7.8	2.5
6. Almost all	3.6	4.7	1.2	5.4	1.9
7. All	1.0	1.0	1.2	0.9	0.9
(b) Savings or payments for a car or car expenses					
1. None	46.6	40.7	30.8	60.5	51.0
2. A little	17.0	19.2	16.5	15.9	15.8
3. Some	14.4	16.2	17.6	10.8	13.9
4. About half	9.6	10.5	15.7	5.7	8.1
5. Most	6.9	8.1	10.7	4.4	5.3
6. Almost all	3.9	4.0	5.8	2.0	4.3
7. All	1.6	1.4	2.9	0.7	1.6
(c) Other savings for long-range purposes					
1. None	47.4	45.8	48.0	49.1	46.7
2. A little	24.4	27.9	23.7	23.9	21.2
3. Some	13.1	12.4	13.0	12.5	15.3
4. About half	6.5	5.9	7.2	5.7	7.7
5. Most	4.4	3.9	4.0	4.9	4.6
6. Almost all	2.9	3.1	2.7	3.0	2.9
7. All	1.3	1.0	1.4	1.0	1.5
(d) Spending on your own needs and activities					
1. None	5.2	4.2	7.4	3.9	5.6
2. A little	19.2	22.2	20.6	17.6	16.1
3. Some	18.4	20.9	18.8	17.2	16.3
4. About half	17.7	17.9	18.1	17.6	17.4
5. Most	17.4	17.7	16.7	18.0	17.6
6. Almost all	13.6	10.8	10.4	16.3	16.8
7. All	8.6	6.3	8.1	9.5	10.2
(e) Helping to pay family living expenses					
1. None	55.7	59.6	50.7	60.6	49.3
2. A little	25.6	26.5	28.3	23.1	25.8
3. Some	9.2	7.1	10.4	8.7	11.4
4. About half	4.1	3.2	5.0	3.1	5.5
5. Most	2.3	1.6	1.9	2.3	3.3
6. Almost all	2.0	1.2	2.1	1.5	3.3
7. All	1.1	0.8	1.5	0.8	1.5
Approximate N	11722	3218	2242	3360	2358

Table 11

Seniors' Saving and Spending by Number of Hours Worked per Week for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1981–1984, Combined

5D05: About how much of your past year's earnings have gone into:[a]	Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
			College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
(a) Savings for future education	None	1.954	2.271	1.644	2.050	1.655
	1–10	2.254	2.469	1.861	2.540	1.743
	11–20	2.254	2.515	1.687	2.554	1.832
	21–30	2.135	2.424	1.731	2.501	1.789
	31+	2.067	2.338	1.844	2.464	1.813
	eta, adj.	*.073*	*.036*	*.072*	*.113*	*.027*
	r	*.019*	*.023*	*.029*	*.075*	*.043*
(b) Savings or payments for car or car expenses	None	1.689	1.722	2.150	1.424	1.736
	1–10	1.951	2.174	2.631	1.589	1.680
	11–20	2.330	2.577	2.754	1.940	2.277
	21–30	2.929	3.015	3.349	2.403	2.925
	31+	3.020	3.115	3.397	2.612	2.606
	eta, adj.	*.306*	*.314*	*.257*	*.277*	*.302*
	r	*.301*	*.310*	*.251*	*.276*	*.275*
(c) Other savings for long-range purposes	None	1.880	1.926	1.876	1.789	1.917
	1–10	2.144	2.159	2.141	2.127	2.136
	11–20	2.092	2.028	2.061	2.103	2.192
	21–30	2.163	2.101	2.064	2.078	2.409
	31+	2.342	2.428	2.286	2.260	2.376
	eta, adj.	*.091*	*.083*	*.079*	*.094*	*.120*
	r	*.080*	*.061*	*.063*	*.070*	*.122*
(d) Spending on own needs and activities	None	3.970	3.809	3.990	4.158	3.848
	1–10	4.074	3.837	3.795	4.287	4.392
	11–20	4.061	3.851	3.786	4.246	4.271
	21–30	3.862	3.629	3.887	3.873	4.122
	31+	3.737	3.428	3.520	4.030	4.227
	eta, adj.	*.063*	*.065*	*.074*	*.079*	*.092*
	r	*−.045*	*−.059*	*−.060*	*−.050*	*.043*
(e) Family living expenses	None	1.743	1.603	1.872	1.613	1.953
	1–10	1.763	1.618	1.854	1.685	2.013
	11–20	2.126	2.042	2.027	2.168	2.283
	21–30	1.742	1.556	1.961	1.606	2.037
	31+	1.877	1.746	1.864	1.830	2.066
	eta, adj.	*.099*	*.109*	*.000*	*.133*	*.080*
	r	*.080*	*.094*	*.021*	*.110*	*.058*

[a]Answer categories are: (1) None, (2) A little, (3) Some, (4) About half, (5) Most, (6) Almost all, (7) All.

Table 12

Dating and Going Out for Recreation: Mean Frequencies by Work Intensity for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
C26: On the average, how often do you go out with a date (or your spouse if you are married)? *Answer categories are (1) Never, (2) Once a month or less, (3) 2 or 3 times a month, (4) Once a week, (5) 2 or 3 times a week, (6) Over 3 times a week*					
None	3.192	2.958	2.980	3.165	3.575
1–10	3.349	3.301	3.194	3.266	3.674
11–20	3.570	3.338	3.528	3.513	3.982
21–30	3.705	3.494	3.661	3.631	4.085
31+	3.806	3.632	3.796	3.733	4.066
eta, adj.	*.134*	*.140*	*.176*	*.121*	*.127*
r	*.134*	*.133*	*.175*	*.121*	*.122*
C25: During a typical week, on how many evenings do you go out for fun and recreation? *Answer categories are: (1) Less than one (2) One, (3) Two, (4) Three, (5) Four or five, (6) Six or seven.*					
None	3.320	3.366	3.652	3.155	3.284
1–10	3.428	3.502	3.721	3.209	3.376
11–20	3.535	3.543	3.796	3.360	3.578
21–30	3.549	3.546	3.797	3.328	3.499
31+	3.485	3.484	3.573	3.297	3.408
eta, adj.	*.069*	*.056*	*.063*	*.070*	*.084*
r	*.056*	*.040*	*−.009*	*.056*	*.055*
Approximate N	68350	18740	13110	19220	14110

Table 13

Leisure Activities and Hours Worked: Correlation Statistics for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup Classes of 1982-1984, Combined

2A02: The next questions ask about the kinds of things you might do. How often do you do each of the following? *Answer categories range from (1)="Never" to (5)="Almost every day".*	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
Go to taverns, bars, or night-clubs					
eta, adj.	.172	.186	.134	.184	.143
r	.169	.182	.143	.170	.132
Ride around in a car (or motorcycle) just for fun					
eta, adj.	.149	.164	.128	.103	.066
r	.140	.157	.125	.102	.057
Go to parties or other social affairs					
eta, adj.	.127	.110	.109	.143	.136
r	.122	.107	.116	.135	.132
Go to movies					
eta, adj.	.066	.083	.132	.038	.058
r	.064	.062	.105	.047	.069
Get together with friends, informally					
eta, adj.	.070	.091	.016	.094	.000
r	.061	.081	.029	.071	.038
Go shopping or window-shopping					
eta, adj.	.059	.066	.072	.094	.109
r	.016	.059	.024	.089	.114
Work around the house, yard, car, etc.					
eta, adj.	.055	.087	.090	.000	.065
r	.015	.064	.019	.012	−.048
Participate in community affairs or volunteer work					
eta, adj.	.092	.076	.066	.093	.137
r	−.002	.040	.011	.024	.006
Do art or craft work					
eta, adj.	.045	.026	.000	.044	.080
r	−.015	−.018	−.040	.025	−.033
Attend art shows,musical performances, or theater plays					
eta, adj.	.093	.024	.035	.089	.102
r	−.037	−.023	−.045	−.009	.043
Actively participate in sports, athletics, or exercising					
eta, adj.	.081	.123	.071	.034	.120
r	−.061	−.103	−.070	.001	−.061
Read books, magazines, or newspapers					
eta, adj.	.083	.084	.073	.052	.000
r	−.061	−.061	−.058	−.005	.009
Do creative writing					
eta, adj.	.102	.089	.075	.000	.088
r	−.077	−.059	−.081	−.025	−.028
Play a musical instrument or sing					
eta, adj.	.097	.028	.050	.058	.142
r	−.083	−.046	−.026	−.065	−.084
Spend at least an hour of leisure time alone					
eta, adj.	.093	.067	.100	.078	.000
r	−.088	−.062	−.098	−.079	−.056
Watch TV					
eta, adj.	.111	.094	.109	.113	.168
r	−.109	−.079	−.113	−.111	−.168
Approximate N	*8405*	*2321*	*1658*	*2344*	*1710*

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES AND ATTITUDES

This section examines how educational experiences and attitudes are related to hours of paid work during senior year. In the section on job characteristics, we found that seniors who work more than ten hours a week tend to report greater amounts of interference with education, although the average amounts of interference are not at all large. If the self-reports about interference are accurate, then we might also expect that seniors working longer hours will have somewhat higher levels of absenteeism, somewhat poorer grades, and somewhat less time devoted to homework. Of course, even if all of the expected relationships appear, these cross-sectional analyses will not demonstrate a clear causal direction; work may interfere with success in school, but doing poorly in school may also prompt a greater willingness to spend long hours on a job.

Parental Educational Level. The educational levels of parents (along with other aspects of family socioeconomic level) have long been known to relate to the educational aspirations and attainments of children. Thus, it is of interest to know whether students from different family backgrounds, as reflected by parents' educational levels, have different likelihoods of working during high school, or working long versus short hours. If the children of more educated parents do less part-time work, it would be consistent with the interpretation that commitment to schooling (which develops over a long period of time and is influenced by parental education) causes students to limit their involvement in part-time work. (That is, however, not the only possible interpretation of such a relationship.)

Within the total Monitoring the Future sample, classes of 1980 through 1984, 23% of the seniors' fathers and 19% of their mothers had less than a high school education, while 45% of the fathers and 38% of the mothers had at least some college. As anticipated, parents' educational attainments show a fairly strong connection with seniors' educational expectations. For example, 75% of seniors whose fathers had at least some college plan themselves to complete a four-year college program, contrasted with only 39% of seniors whose fathers had not completed high school.

Given that college plans are correlated with parents' educational attainments, and given that seniors who plan to complete college are less likely to work long hours, we expected to find at least some correlation between parents' education and seniors' hours of part-time work. The expected relationships did appear, but they are quite small. There is little consistent difference in parental education among seniors working one to fifteen hours in part-time jobs, but those working longer hours tend to come from families with lower parental education, as shown in Table 14. An examination of subgroups reveals that the pattern described above remains among the college-bound, but not among those who do not expect to complete a four-year college program.

The more important observation, however, is that none of these relationships is at all strong. We thus conclude that parental educational levels, and most likely family socioeconomic levels in general, have little overall impact on the amount of time seniors spend in part-time jobs.

High School Program. We have already documented that those expecting to complete four years of college are somewhat less likely to work long hours in part-time jobs; thus, it was not surprising to find a similar pattern for those in the college-preparatory curriculum (see Table 9-1 in the section on job characteristics). It could be argued that being in a college-preparatory rather than a general high school program is a sign of, among other things, the degree to which the college-bound senior is committed to further academic study. (There are, of course, other obvious reasons for the lack of perfect

correspondence between high school program and academic aspiration; one involves the quite understandable inability of some students to categorize the variety of the courses they are undertaking along the dimensions of interest to administrators and social scientists—see Rumberger and Daymont, 1982, for a discussion of this validity issue; another is the result of the "tracking" practices of most high schools [Abramowitz and Tenenbaum, 1978], and the inevitable lack of perfect correlation between the student's personal aspirations and those which the school holds for him.) The degree of commitment to four years of college may also be gauged by examining the full range of affirmative responses to the question defining the college-bound subgroup, i.e., whether the respondent indicated that he "definitely will" or only "probably will" graduate from a four-year college program. Again of course, some seniors may be "definitely" committed to college but only "probably" sure that they can follow through on their commitment, for reasons having to do with sources of funding, self-confidence in ability, etc. However, for both the "commitment" and "financial insecurity" reasons, we would expect to find a positive relationship between uncertainty and weekly hours of work. Figure 4 suggests that this is the case for the college-bound of both sexes (the degree of uncertainty among the noncollege-bound—that is, doubt about not graduating from a four year program—has far less bearing on work intensity). From additional analysis separating the "probably wills" and the "definitely wills" into the three high school program categories, we found that the greater concentrations of general and vocational students among the less certain college-bound seniors could account for much, though not quite all, of the higher mean number of hours worked by this group. Thus, a small amount of the variability in work intensity among the college-bound remains, after controlling for high school program, which may be ascribed to the constellation of other attitudes and statuses, including commitment, which foster certainty of college graduation.

When we turn to an examination of those not expecting to complete four years of college, we find a fairly clear relationship between being in a vocational, technical or commercial curriculum and working longer hours in a part-time job. Among noncollege-bound males, 22% of those not employed were in voc-tech programs of study compared with 37% of those working more than thirty hours per week. Noncollege-bound females display a similar pattern: 18% of those not employed were in voc-tech programs, compared with 28% of those working more than thirty hours per week. (Among the college-bound, those working the longest hours were also more apt to be in vocational curricula.) If being in a vocational, technical, or commercial program often reflects a fairly clear commitment to a particular career area, it may be that such commitment, plus the skills learned in such programs, contribute to some seniors' desires and abilities to hold down time-consuming part-time jobs while they are still in high school.

Grades. The Monitoring the Future questionnaires include a very general question asking, "Which of the following best describes your average grade so far in high school?" The fact that the question covers grades throughout high school places limits on the relationships with students' very recent employment experiences, and it also limits our ability to interpret such relationships. These limitations notwithstanding, we do find a correlation between grades and hours worked which is very similar to the link between parents' education and hours worked. Among the college-bound, the higher the number of hours worked the lower the overall grades throughout high school, as shown in Table 15. (Note, however, that those with no part-time work do not have the highest grade levels; rather, they are at about the mid-point among the college-bound.) The noncollege-bound do not show any consistent relationship between grades and hours worked.

Table 15 further indicates that self-ratings of intelligence and school ability show relationships with hours worked which are very similar to those shown by grades. This is not at all surprising, since grades are an important ingredient in forming self-concepts of

abilities. But it is perhaps worth noting that such self-concepts (like grades) have a fairly high degree of stability during high school, which makes it most likely that the differences in self-concepts preceded the differences in hours worked.

Absenteeism. A series of three questionnaire items was used to ascertain how many school days during the past four weeks were missed due to (a) illness, (b) skipping or "cutting," and (c) other reasons. Each question employs the same response scale: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4–5, 6–10, 11 or more. For responses above three days, actual number of days were estimated using an algorithm which took into account the skewness of the distribution toward zero, so that the resulting category values are lower than simple midpoints. Total days absent for any reason were calculated by simply adding the three estimates described above.

As Figure 5 indicates, absenteeism is positively correlated with hours worked. More important, the figure clearly indicates that the relationship is due almost entirely to differences in truancy. Seniors working the longest hours are about twice as likely to "cut" a day of school as are those working few or no hours. Still, we must note that the negative correlation is not at all large; product-moment correlations for the four subgroups range from −.08 to −.11.

Time Spent on Homework. Steinberg and Greenberger (1982) noted a decrease in school involvement, including time spent on homework, associated with increased hours of work in both their cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses of tenth and eleventh graders. Lewin-Epstein (1981) reported that seniors working twenty hours or more in part-time jobs did about an hour per week less homework than those who spent little time on part-time jobs. D'Amico (1984) found a significant association among high school students between reduced study time both in and out of school and prolonged work intensity levels of twenty hours or more per week.

Table 16 shows negative correlations between hours of part-time work and hours spent on homework both in and out of school. Although here the correlation coefficients are quite small, we find among the college-bound that those working the longest hours in part-time jobs average at least 1.5 fewer hours on homework compared with those working few or no hours in jobs. For the noncollege-bound the differences are smaller—a gap of about one hour in homework time between those working few and many hours on their jobs (with the unemployed again falling somewhere in the middle).

There are some other differences of interest in Table 16. First, we note in passing that females consistently report at least an hour more homework per week than males do, after controlling for college plans and hours of part-time employment. Much larger and more important are the differences between those who do and do not expect to complete four years of college—a gap of two to three hours per week in homework after controlling for sex and hours of work. In other words, time spent on homework is much more strongly linked to (and perhaps caused by) college plans than it is to hours spent in part-time employment.

Attitudes about School. How shall we interpret the slightly lower grades, fewer hours spent on schoolwork, and higher absenteeism among seniors who work long hours on jobs? Are they behavioral manifestations of overall attitudes toward school? Table 17 presents six questionnaire items which assess school attitudes, and show the extent to which they are correlated with hours worked on part-time jobs. An examination of the table shows first that seniors on average are fairly positive about school, and second that the negative correlations between hours worked and school attitudes are uniformly small.

In other words, those working long hours in part-time jobs are a little less positive about school, but only a very little.

Conclusions About How Part-Time Employment in High School is Linked to Educational Experiences and Attitudes. Perhaps the most important point to be made in this section is that while hours of part-time work are correlated in a consistent manner with grades, self-concepts of scholastic ability, absenteeism, and other indicators of successful involvement with education, all of these relationships are quite small. If we add to that our strong suspicion that these and other factors reflecting educational success are largely "in place" prior to high school, we find little evidence to indicate that long hours of part-time employment exact a heavy toll in terms of academic attitudes and performance. Instead, the evidence is consistent with the view that those who have been most successful in school, and who are most committed to further education, are also somewhat less likely to involve themselves in very long hours of part-time work during their high school years.

Table 14

Mean Levels of Parental Education for Each Level of Current Work Intensity for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1980–84, Combined

Hours Worked per Week	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
Mean Level of Father's Education[a]					
0	3.489	4.003	2.981	3.752	2.792
1–5	3.782	4.223	3.039	4.106	2.923
6–10	3.685	4.108	3.016	4.016	3.020
11–15	3.765	4.130	3.079	4.128	3.094
16–20	3.657	4.044	3.129	3.959	3.071
21–25	3.554	4.028	3.129	3.815	3.041
26–30	3.415	3.762	3.115	3.696	3.050
31+	3.281	3.748	3.056	3.572	2.961
eta, adj.	*.104*	*.092*	*.035*	*.113*	*.086*
r	*−.043*	*−.058*	*.026*	*−.021*	*.061*
Mean Level of Mother's Education[a]					
0	3.381	3.754	3.021	3.609	2.839
1–5	3.616	3.957	3.043	3.873	2.989
6–10	3.498	3.790	3.042	3.743	3.012
11–15	3.577	3.824	3.088	3.840	3.093
16–20	3.497	3.759	3.184	3.713	3.055
21–25	3.431	3.699	3.162	3.676	3.045
26–30	3.325	3.613	3.098	3.570	2.998
31+	3.272	3.627	3.106	3.450	3.035
eta, adj.	*.063*	*.071*	*.047*	*.085*	*.080*
r	*−.032*	*−.049*	*.031*	*−.020*	*.060*
Approximate N	65800	18500	12500	18700	13200

[a]Response categories are: 1. Grade school or less, 2. Some high school, 3. Completed high school, 4. Some college, 5. Completed college, 6. Graduate or professional school after college.

Table 15

Self-Reported School Grades, Ability, and Intelligence:
Mean Responses for Each Level of Hours Worked
for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
C20: Which of the following best describes your average grade so far in high school? *Answer categories range from 1=D to 9=A.*					
0 Hours	5.743	6.032	4.535	6.444	5.239
1–10	6.000	6.316	4.628	6.793	5.448
11–20	5.966	6.122	4.669	6.591	5.541
21–30	5.601	5.904	4.613	6.392	5.535
31 or more	5.308	5.865	4.716	6.127	5.282
eta, adj.	*.111*	*.088*	*.033*	*.106*	*.069*
r	*−.072*	*−.055*	*.023*	*−.048*	*.035*
Number of cases	59127	18998	13230	19443	14229
C16: Compared with others your age throughout the country, how do you rate yourself on school ability? *Answer categories range from 1="Far below average" to 7="Far above average".*					
0 Hours	4.826	5.222	4.303	5.077	4.367
1–10	4.995	5.385	4.327	5.282	4.485
11–20	4.973	5.283	4.357	5.201	4.528
21–30	4.796	5.174	4.352	5.099	4.508
31 or more	4.631	5.069	4.376	4.975	4.404
eta, adj.	*.101*	*.092*	*.017*	*.086*	*.066*
r	*−.055*	*−.055*	*.019*	*−.021*	*.035*
Number of cases	58151	18869	13072	19120	13926
C17: How intelligent do you think you are compared with others you age? *Answer categories range from 1="Far below average" to 7="Far above average".*					
0 Hours	4.909	5.345	4.492	5.113	4.397
1–10	5.068	5.520	4.531	5.246	4.484
11–20	5.025	5.426	4.574	5.181	4.473
21–30	4.909	5.339	4.575	5.102	4.524
31 or more	4.788	5.302	4.566	5.035	4.461
eta, adj.	*.077*	*.073*	*.018*	*.059*	*.041*
r	*−.037*	*−.032*	*.022*	*−.023*	*.034*
Number of cases	58457	18848	13072	19299	14101

Table 16

Time Spent on Schoolwork Each Week
Mean Responses for Each Level of Hours Worked
for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

2E13: About how many hours do you spend in an average week on all your homework including both in school and out of school?
Answer categories range from 1="0 hours" to 7="25 or more hours".
Means in italics are numbers of hours.[a]

Hours Worked Per Week	Total		Males				Females			
			College-bound		Non-college-bound		College-bound		Non-college-bound	
No hours	3.009	*7.446*	3.140	*8.033*	2.457	*5.111*	3.404	*9.250*	2.658	*5.776*
1–10	3.048	*7.597*	3.155	*8.083*	2.526	*5.300*	3.373	*9.069*	2.830	*6.545*
11–20	2.952	*7.152*	3.018	*7.396*	2.440	*4.960*	3.262	*8.543*	2.796	*6.453*
21–30	2.760	*6.330*	2.940	*7.115*	2.168	*3.751*	3.235	*8.458*	2.688	*5.943*
31 or more	2.594	*5.649*	2.830	*6.624*	2.251	*4.242*	3.046	*7.574*	2.592	*5.575*
eta, adj.	.100		.062		.100		.051		.068	
r	−.092		−.071		−.086		−.058		−.005	
Number of cases	12776		3597		2389		3587		2653	

[a]Number of hours spent on school work was calculated by recoding each response category to the midpoint of the range of hours it represents, using an upper limit of 27 hours.

Table 17

Attitudes About School: Mean Responses by Number of Hours Worked per Week for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
1D01: ... How do you feel about going to school? *Answer categories range from 1 ("I don't like school at all") to 5 ("I like school very much").*					
None	3.512	3.621	3.144	3.751	3.341
1-10	3.519	3.594	3.169	3.744	3.338
11-20	3.443	3.564	3.177	3.604	3.248
21-30	3.296	3.449	3.068	3.522	3.112
31+	3.162	3.590	2.916	3.317	3.133
eta, adj.	*.117*	*.063*	*.081*	*.118*	*.080*
r	*−.109*	*−.046*	*−.075*	*−.118*	*−.082*
1A11i: Going to school has been an enjoyable experience for me. *Answer categories range from 1 ("Disagree") to 5 ("Agree").*					
None	3.991	4.015	3.724	4.143	3.959
1-10	3.958	4.019	3.607	4.166	3.845
11-20	3.874	3.922	3.567	4.030	3.790
21-30	3.782	3.796	3.566	3.992	3.782
31+	3.611	3.859	3.330	3.841	3.859
eta, adj.	*.097*	*.072*	*.082*	*.079*	*.037*
r	*−.095*	*−.070*	*−.083*	*−.079*	*−.049*
1A11j: Doing well in school is important for getting a good job. *Answer categories range from 1 ("Disagree") to 5 ("Agree").*					
None	4.458	4.423	4.148	4.587	4.524
1-10	4.409	4.373	4.213	4.547	4.421
11-20	4.397	4.389	4.096	4.519	4.437
21-30	4.305	4.316	4.067	4.509	4.342
31+	4.199	4.457	3.842	4.470	4.368
eta, adj.	*.081*	*.017*	*.108*	*.032*	*.064*
r	*−.075*	*−.017*	*−.081*	*−.039*	*−.066*
1D04: How important do you think the things you are learning in school are going to be for your later life? *Answer categories range from 1 ("Not at all important") to 5 ("Very important").*					
None	3.607	3.693	3.332	3.726	3.529
1-10	3.602	3.616	3.288	3.714	3.642
11-20	3.486	3.572	3.303	3.556	3.386
21-30	3.441	3.525	3.302	3.545	3.412
31+	3.351	3.719	3.047	3.572	3.384
eta, adj.	*.077*	*.068*	*.084*	*.069*	*.081*
r	*−.075*	*−.027*	*−.056*	*−.070*	*−.066*
1D02: How often do you feel that the school work you are assigned is meaningful and important? *Answer categories range from 1 ("Never") to 5 ("Amost Always").*					
None	3.462	3.524	2.997	3.638	3.424
1-10	3.423	3.415	3.095	3.608	3.382
11-20	3.322	3.427	3.043	3.430	3.216
21-30	3.251	3.357	3.066	3.430	3.155
31+	3.131	3.534	2.795	3.255	3.250
eta, adj.	*.101*	*.054*	*.090*	*.111*	*.102*
r	*−.102*	*−.027*	*−.053*	*−.107*	*−.100*
1D03: How interesting are most of your courses to you? *Answer categories range from 1 ("Very dull") to 5 ("Very exciting and stimulating").*					
None	3.240	3.272	2.989	3.386	3.188
1-10	3.220	3.175	2.949	3.361	3.301
11-20	3.160	3.195	2.988	3.222	3.122
21-30	3.093	3.170	2.951	3.243	3.021
31+	3.005	3.222	2.805	3.187	3.051
eta, adj.	*.079*	*.030*	*.046*	*.081*	*.099*
r	*−.079*	*−.020*	*−.048*	*−.081*	*−.085*
N (Approx)	13024	3549	2360	3811	2688

Figure 4

Certainty of Completing Four Years of College and Work Intensity

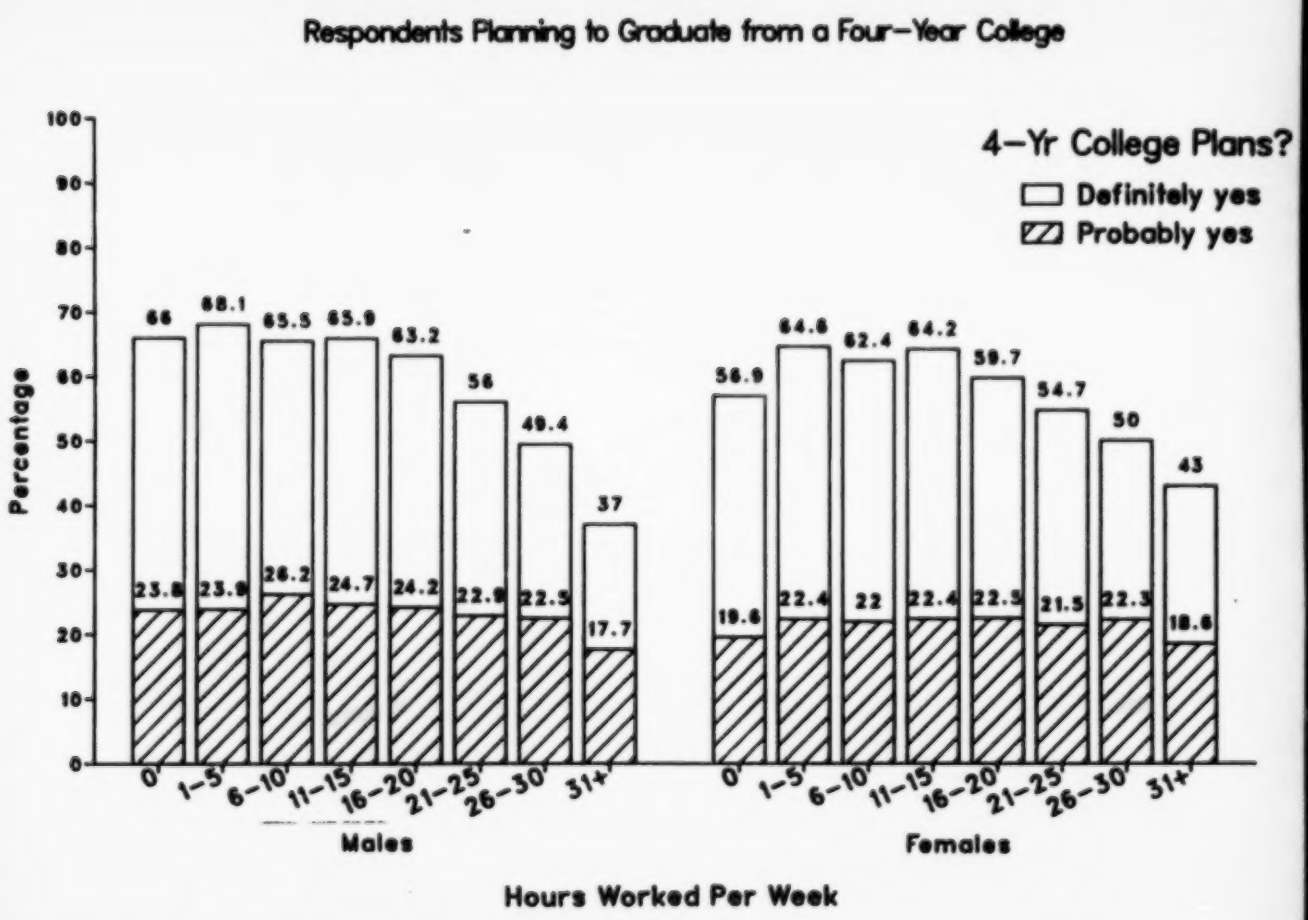
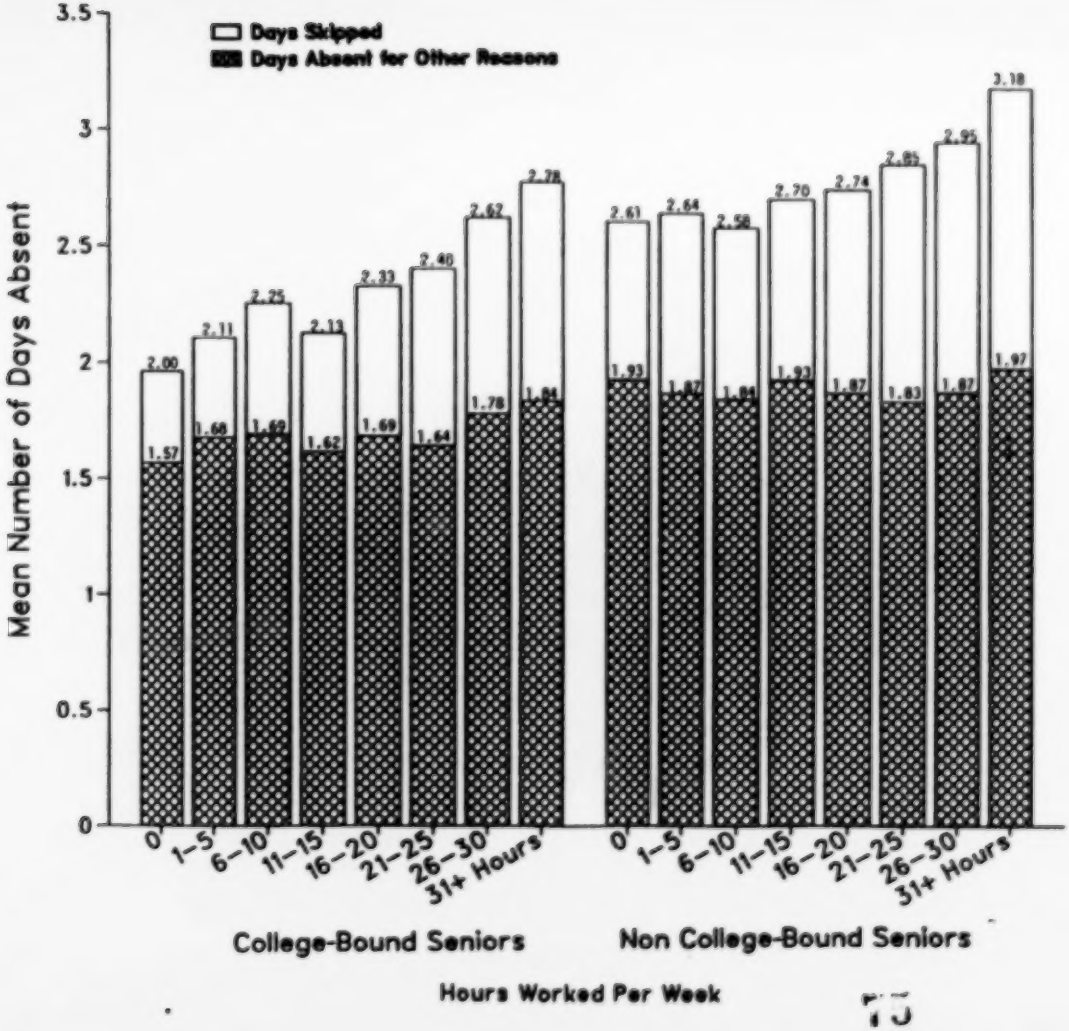


Figure 5

Number of Days in the Past Month Absent from School and Work Intensity for College-bound and Noncollege-bound Seniors



WORK ATTITUDES

There are several items in the questionnaire set which give the seniors an opportunity to reveal their attitudes about working and their preferences regarding characteristics of their future jobs. One important reason for examining these items is that the research of Steinberg and Greenburger suggests that work status is related to differences in attitudes about intrinsic job characteristics (1981) and that some students working longer hours have more cynical attitudes toward working, and more materialistic occupational reward values than their non- or less-working peers (1982).

Attitudes about Working. A question which assesses general agreement with the Protestant work ethic and which may be used as a rough gauge of attitudes toward the intrinsic value of work is asked in Form 4: "If you were to get enough money to live comfortably for the rest of your life, would you want to work?" Since this question is asked in the same form as our measure of hours worked in a present or very recent job (as opposed to a job held sometime in the past year), we used this more precise measure as our independent variable. Apparently, number of hours worked has no effect on choosing to work in the future: the proportions of seniors who would work irrespective of financial need hover between .75 and .79 for all levels and with no discernable pattern over levels of hours worked.

A limited number of questionnaire items which might be categorized as assessing cynicism toward work are presented in Table 18. The independent variable is the item which averages hours of work per week over the school year, thereby potentially including the presently nonworking. Again, no relationships with hours worked are apparent. We must note, however, that the last two measures may not be very accurate indicators of "cynicism." Work may be central to one's life solely for materialistic reasons, and the last item may be as indicative of willingness to work overtime as it is of desire to do one's best. But to the extent that these measures capture this imperfectly delineated concept, these data indicate that there is no relationship between hours of work and "cynicism" toward work.

Job Preferences. Summary correlational statistics for questions dealing with preferences regarding the intrinsic and extrinsic characteristics of a future job are presented in Table 19. The Form 4 measure of hours worked is again used in these analyses for the reasons mentioned above. We note in passing that females are more likely than males to value those attributes which are directly part of the work experience (intrinsic) rather than external to it (extrinsic) (see Herzog, 1980, for an exploration of sex differences in occupational plans and values). As Table 19 indicates, current work intensity offers very little additional explanation of the variation in these measures. (Within the category of extrinsic characteristics, noncollege-bound males are the only seniors whose data suggest that hours worked are related to job preferences: "a good chance of advancement" and "a reasonably predictable, secure future" correlate positively with hours worked within this group of seniors. However, data in a different questionnaire form suggest that there is a negative relationship between the work hours of noncollege-bound males and their desire to stay in the same job for most of their lives [eta=.099, r=−.091].)

Job Aspirations. A possible explanation for the dearth of important relationships between hours worked and these attitudinal items is the finding, previously discussed, that most seniors view their present jobs as irrelevant to their careers, irrespective of how many hours they work. Table 20 presents seniors' preferences over a number of specific job categories, along with how likely they feel that they will, by age 30, be able to obtain

the jobs they want. Although we do not ask for the titles of their present (or most recent) jobs, these data suggest that just as most seniors view their jobs only to a little extent as "stepping-stones" on their career paths, a majority are not presently working in the same job categories as those to which they aspire.

As could be expected, college plans do influence employment plans. The noncollege-bound of both sexes are about three times more likely than the college-bound to report that they are already working in the kinds of jobs they expect to be performing at age 30, and there is a positive relationship between weekly hours of work and the percentages who are doing so. (An additional analysis including only those who reported that they "already do this kind of work" shows that, among noncollege-bound males, the most frequently mentioned job categories are "craftsman or skilled worker" (43.4%), "operative or semi-skilled worker" (15.5%), and "farm owner, farm manager" (13.7%); nearly two-thirds of the noncollege-bound females were working in clerical positions, and another 15% were "service workers.") However, among seniors who do not plan to stay in their present jobs for the next twelve years, hours of work are not related to how certain they are that they they will succeed at getting the job they want, again paralleling the lack of correspondence between hours worked and viewing their present jobs as "stepping-stones." On the whole, most seniors, even those who work long hours outside of school, view their future careers quite separately from their present work experience.

It does appear, however, that hours of work are positively associated with increased confidence in finding a job "with decent pay" after graduating from high school (see Table 21). Current work intensity also enhances self-perceived ability to work in "a job" (see Figure 6)—that is, when the question leaves to the respondent to determine the sort of job, idealized or not. The differences between seniors in the two college plans subgroups working zero hours may be due to the emphasis which the college-bound put on their academic success when considering future work performance. The relatively sharp rise for both subgroups after fifteen hours of work per week ("relative" to the fact that a large majority of all seniors believe they will be good workers) indicates perhaps that longer working hours give seniors even greater confidence about their abilities to perform successfully in "adult" jobs.

Table 18

Cynical Attitudes toward Work: Mean Responses for Each Level of Hours Worked for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

3A05: In the following list you will find some statements about leisure time and work. Please show whether you agree or disagree with each statement.
Answer categories are (1) Disagree, (2) Mostly disagree, (3) Neither, (4) Mostly agree, (5) Agree.

Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
To me, work is nothing more than making a living					
0 Hours	2.243	2.181	2.833	1.907	2.438
1–10	2.087	2.107	2.562	1.763	2.187
11–20	2.127	2.109	2.493	1.846	2.257
21–30	2.208	2.309	2.499	1.824	2.193
31 or more	2.268	2.178	2.579	1.764	2.247
eta, adj.	*.047*	*.057*	*.075*	*.026*	*.070*
r	*.010*	*.033*	*−.050*	*−.021*	*−.043*
I expect my work to be a very central part of my life					
0 Hours	3.951	3.991	3.906	4.005	3.865
1–10	3.955	3.975	4.043	3.950	3.825
11–20	3.862	3.931	3.850	3.884	3.749
21–30	3.925	3.939	3.955	3.994	3.796
31 or more	4.030	4.058	4.045	4.080	3.991
eta, adj.	*.046*	*.000*	*.067*	*.047*	*.062*
r	*.014*	*.001*	*.027*	*.001*	*−.001*
I want to do my best in my job, even if this sometimes means working overtime					
0 Hours	4.463	4.457	4.396	4.514	4.445
1–10	4.456	4.400	4.437	4.509	4.473
11–20	4.464	4.412	4.499	4.487	4.459
21–30	4.487	4.423	4.478	4.572	4.486
31 or more	4.587	4.525	4.584	4.718	4.575
eta, adj.	*.041*	*.019*	*.053*	*.063*	*.000*
r	*.034*	*.014*	*.058*	*.044*	*.032*
Approximate N	14065	3824	2659	3951	2928

Table 19

Preferred Job Characteristics Correlated with Numbers of Hours Worked
Statistics for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1982-1984, Combined

4A08: Different people may look for different things in their work. Below is a list of some of these things. Please read each one, then indicate how important this thing is for you.
Answer categories are (1) Not important, (2) A little, (3) Pretty important, (4) Very important.

Job Characteristic	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
Intrinsic Attributes					
...See the results of what you do					
eta, adj.	.025	.035	.088	.050	.098
r	.034	.047	.077	−.038	.092
...Interesting to do					
eta, adj.	.059	.058	.107	.119	.000
r	.020	.039	.097	.006	−.018
...Opportunity to be directly helpful to others					
eta, adj.	.038	.052	.055	.071	.023
r	−.030	.000	.034	−.045	−.023
...Chance to be creative					
eta, adj.	.027	.000	.073	.013	.054
r	−.017	.022	−.025	−.041	.017
...Skills you learn will not go out of date					
eta, adj.	.032	.032	.040	.030	.043
r	.036	.037	.036	.001	.047
...Chance to make friends					
eta, adj.	.023	.025	.051	.000	.000
r	.016	.043	.071	.015	−.018
...Uses your skills and abilities					
eta, adj.	.000	.000	.088	.056	.071
r	.011	.005	.077	−.050	.077
...Worthwhile to society					
eta, adj.	.000	.016	.000	.052	.055
r	−.011	.028	.022	−.039	.005
...Chance to participate in decision-making					
eta, adj.	.000	.087	.000	.040	.080
r	.011	.069	.001	−.010	.051
...Leaves you free of supervision by others					
eta, adj.	.033	.000	.027	.046	.000
r	.019	.032	−.034	.035	−.002
...Chance to learn new skills					
eta, adj.	.065	.070	.046	.094	.073
r	.068	.075	.077	.071	.079
...You do not have to pretend to be a person that you are not					
eta, adj.	.046	.050	.034	.056	.060
r	−.005	.016	.045	−.012	.029

Table 19, Continued

Preferred Job Characteristics Correlated with Number of Hours Worked
Statistics for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1982 to 1984, Combined

4A08: Different people may look for different things in their work. Below is a list of some of these things. Please read each one, then indicate how important this thing is for you.
Answer categories are (1) Not important, (2) A little, (3) Pretty important, (4) Very important.

Job Characteristic	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
...Permits contact with a lot of people					
eta, adj.	.040	.000	.036	.051	.000
r	−.042	.013	−.005	−.040	−.036
...Easy pace that lets you work slowly					
eta, adj.	.059	.016	.110	.059	.080
r	−.045	−.014	−.113	−.060	−.050
...Problems are quite difficult and challenging					
eta, adj.	.018	.036	.074	.021	.062
r	.012	.018	.007	−.002	.046
Extrinsic Attributes					
...High status and prestige					
eta, adj.	.038	.004	.054	.152	.052
r	.036	.036	.030	.034	.068
...Good chance for advancement					
eta, adj.	.107	.088	.143	.127	.062
r	.085	.081	.103	.081	.088
...Chance to earn a good deal of money					
eta, adj.	.063	.079	.053	.114	.000
r	.062	.062	.020	.079	−.007
...More than two weeks of vacation					
eta, adj.	.042	.000	.000	.081	.000
r	−.017	−.030	−.033	−.055	−.025
...Leaves a lot of time for other things					
eta, adj.	.026	.000	.026	.000	.000
r	−.001	−.005	−.013	−.011	−.022
...Offers a reasonably predictable, secure future					
eta, adj.	.079	.060	.132	.064	.134
r	.057	.056	.122	−.011	.075
...Not have to move from place to place					
eta, adj.	.018	.017	.000	.000	.050
r	.034	.040	.051	−.016	−.006
...Most people look up to and respect					
eta, adj.	.000	.000	.000	.059	.086
r	.004	.037	−.006	−.009	.036
Approximate N	*6646*	*1830*	*1383*	*1819*	*1262*

Table 20

Job Aspirations of High School Seniors Who Work, and their Relationship with Hours Worked
Classes of 1982–1984, Combined

4A09: What kind of work do you think you will be doing when you are 30 years old?	Males				Females			
	College-bound		Non-college-bound		College-bound		Non-college-bound	
	Percent	Mean Weekly Hours Worked	Percent	Mean Weekly Hours Worked	Percent	Mean Weekly Hours Worked	Percent	Mean Weekl Hours Worke
Laborer	0.1	23.8	1.8	17.8	0.1	23.0	0.3	9.1
Service worker	0.5	23.3	1.1	22.1	1.5	19.2	9.3	16.7
Operative or semiskilled	0.8	13.6	10.7	22.3	0.0	–	1.1	25.4
Salesclerk in a retail store	0.5	22.9	0.8	15.1	0.9	18.2	3.4	16.2
Clerical or office worker	1.6	19.1	1.8	25.8	8.3	19.1	34.7	18.3
Protective service	3.1	19.7	6.1	21.6	0.8	16.0	1.5	20.0
Military service	4.2	19.3	9.0	20.7	0.6	15.9	1.3	21.2
Craftsman or skilled worker	4.7	18.4	31.2	21.8	0.4	17.4	0.8	14.1
Farm owner, farm manager	1.7	23.5	4.4	25.1	0.2	17.2	0.6	20.6
Owner of small business	7.3	19.8	6.6	23.7	3.9	19.1	6.1	20.7
Sales representative	2.3	20.8	1.1	20.6	1.8	18.2	1.0	22.0
Manager or administrator	9.9	18.6	4.8	26.4	10.5	17.7	5.4	22.5
Professional without doctoral degree	37.3	18.5	13.2	20.4	43.8	16.8	17.6	17.7
Professional with doctoral degree or equivalent	20.1	17.9	1.0	19.7	19.8	17.4	3.0	20.7
Full-time homemaker or housewife	0.0	18.0	0.2	13.0	2.7	15.0	8.5	18.2
Don't know–GO TO Q. A13	5.9	18.8	6.0	21.3	4.7	17.5	5.6	19.2
Mean hours worked of total		18.7		21.9		17.3		18.6
eta		.076		.138		.055		.158
wtd. N	1743		1294		1760		1191	

Table 20, Continued

Job Aspirations of High School Seniors Who Work, and their Relationship with Hours Worked
Classes of 1982-1984, Combined

4A10: How likely do you think it is that you will actually get to do this kind of work?	Males				Females			
	College-bound		Non-college-bound		College-bound		Non-college-bound	
	Percent	N(Wtd)	Percent	N(Wtd)	Percent	N(Wtd)	Percent	N(Wt
	Percent saying "certain"							
Hours of work per week:								
1-10	14.5	361	18.4	214	20.6	396	23.1	25
11-20	16.7	662	11.9	367	22.5	736	16.4	45
21-30	17.6	458	15.1	391	20.2	459	21.1	34
31+	17.8	209	17.2	283	15.4	114	23.0	11
	Percent saying "I already do this kind of work"							
1-10	3.2	361	11.4	214	3.3	396	10.2	25
11-20	3.6	662	12.6	367	3.9	736	18.1	45
21-30	3.7	458	18.1	391	6.5	459	16.3	34
31+	7.9	209	21.1	283	6.3	114	17.4	11

Table 21

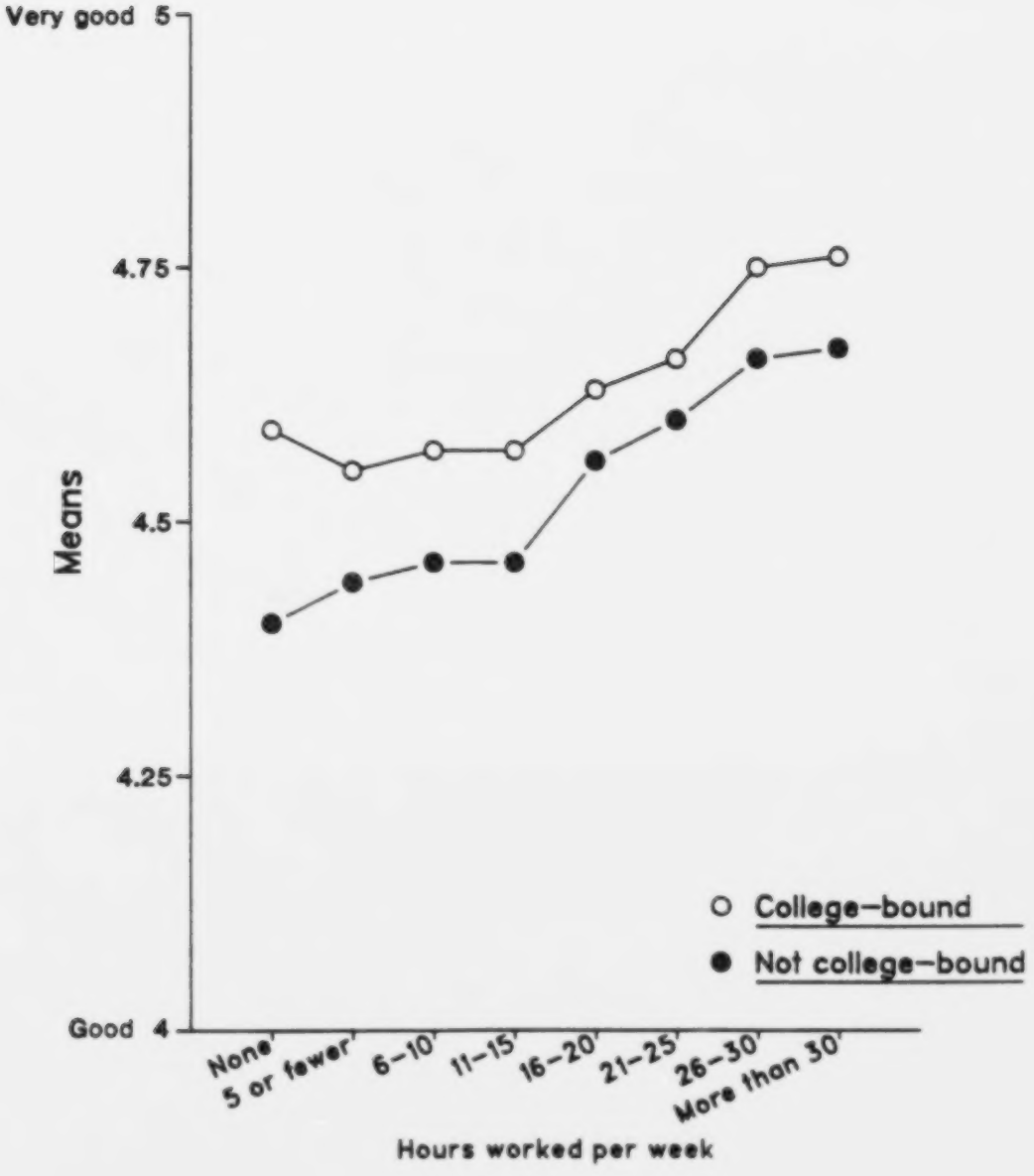
Confidence about Finding a Job by Current Work Intensity: Mean Responses for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

5D04: These next questions ask how you feel about your present financial situation and your future financial security.
Answer categories are (1) None, (2) Seldom, (3) Sometimes, (4) Often, (5) Always.

	Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
			College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
(c)	I worry whether I will have any job at all in a few months					
	0 Hours	2.742	2.524	2.785	2.625	3.121
	1–10	2.604	2.322	2.799	2.510	3.011
	11–20	2.148	2.078	2.398	1.977	2.333
	21–30	2.104	2.026	2.323	1.862	2.188
	31+	2.282	2.111	2.378	2.197	2.255
	eta, adj.	*.203*	*.153*	*.148*	*.248*	*.286*
	r	*−.169*	*−.139*	*−.129*	*−.215*	*−.263*
	Number of cases	12980	3598	2480	3686	2663
(d)	I feel sure that I could go out and get a new job (with decent pay) whenever I want one					
	0 Hours	2.686	2.976	2.605	2.653	2.464
	1–10	2.857	3.157	2.695	2.825	2.537
	11–20	2.966	3.185	2.919	2.958	2.669
	21–30	3.067	3.322	3.049	3.074	2.787
	31+	3.105	3.452	3.150	3.042	2.686
	eta, adj.	*.124*	*.112*	*.159*	*.132*	*.103*
	r	*.121*	*.113*	*.164*	*.124*	*.101*
	Number of cases	12973	3612	2481	3674	2655

Figure 6

Self-Ratings of "How Good a Worker" at Each Level of Hours Worked, for College-bound and Noncollege-bound Seniors



Question text reads, "How good do you think you would be...as a worker on a job?"
Answer categories are: "poor", "not so good", "fairly good", "good", and "very good".

PHYSICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL, AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING

We have already reported that long weekly hours of work may exact a toll by interfering with free time as well as structured activities (such as school), and that feelings of stress may accompany this interference. While we cannot determine the length of time the seniors in our sample have been putting in the numbers of hours they report, it is plausible that these feelings are similar to the "burnout" which many adults feel after prolonged periods of overwork. Two sets of questions asked in a single form of the questionnaire may be used to assess the physical consequences of working long hours while attending school. They are presented, along with mean responses, and summary correlation statistics using the "core" measure of work intensity, in Tables 22 and 23.

We see from Table 22 that working seniors appear to experience no more symptoms of ill-health than their counterparts (and, contrary to Greenburger et al. [1981], also no fewer). However, it is evident from Table 23 that attendance to such health habits as eating breakfast and getting sufficient sleep does suffer somewhat with increased hours of work, irrespective of sex or college plans. It is also interesting to note some differences between the subgroups. Males are consistently more likely to eat breakfast, and the college-bound of both sexes more often exercise and eat fresh vegetables and fruit. Getting enough sleep appears to sometimes be a problem for all subgroups; seniors who work more than twenty hours feel they often get less sleep than they should. While these habits don't seem to be affecting overall health, a return glance at Table 22 does reveal, especially among college-bound females, a slight tendency to report more trouble getting started in the morning as hours of work increase.

In addition to questions concerning physical health, we looked at a number of general psychological and attitudinal items in relation to hours of part-time work. Specifically, we were interested in comparing our data with the report by Greenburger et al. (1982) that there is no relationship between working and a sense of social responsibility to others. We also wished to explore any relationships which could be attributed either to pre-existing psychological differences between those working short and long hours, or to actual effects of long hours of work. For example, we have noted in the section on education a small negative relationship among the college-bound between hours worked and self-ratings of school abilities. Given the relatively stable nature of self-concepts, this bolsters the hypothesis that selection plays a large part in explaining relationships between work intensity and other variables. On the other hand, stress and the feeling that the job is interfering with other important activities could be argued to negatively affect self-ratings of competence in school (as well as the reality).

The approach we used to study these sorts of psychological factors was, consistent with the rest of this paper, an exploratory one. Thus, in addition to the social responsibility and self-esteem items, we also looked at questions concerning racial and sex role attitudes, loneliness, internalization of control, and agreement with parents' attitudes, each of which might be expected to show some effects of part-time employment during high school.

Concern for Others. Out of their increased exposure to people of different ages and backgrounds, one might expect working seniors to display a broadened concern for others, and for the shape of the relationship between concern for others and hours worked to be approximately the same as that between exposure to others and hours worked. In fact, however, the relationship was near zero for all four groups, except for a very small decrease in the concern for others of college-bound males as hours of work increased (see Table 24). Our data thus lend support to Greenburger's finding that working does not

increase social commitment. They also call into question the notion of a direct link between increased contacts with others and increased concern for others in general.

Aside from social commitment, the concept of social responsibility as defined by Greenburger et al. includes a measure of social tolerance. A number of items in a single form of the Monitoring the Future questionnaires measure racial attitudes, which can be viewed as indicators of tolerance of others with varying backgrounds. We should note, however, that another item concerning experiences with different races appears in a different questionnaire form, so that suggested links between racial attitudes and behaviors cannot be tested directly. Nonwhites were excluded from the analysis of these items in order to simplify interpretation.

Responses to item 5A7f in Table 25 indicate that white seniors who work long hours are more likely to get to know people of other races while working on a job. However, such experiences do not appear to increase preferences for such contact. The racial attitudes of white females (also shown in Table 25) seem not to be affected by their hours at work, while long-working white males are actually a little bit less accepting of certain of the integrated settings described.

A theoretically important catalyst of attitude change is the perceived quality of interracial experiences. One possible explanation for this observed lack of increase in acceptance is that hours of work has little or no relationship with how good the seniors view their experiences with other races to be (item 3A17). Indeed, the negative correlation among college-bound white males is consistent with the correlations for the other items just noted. Again, it is important to note that all of these "negative statistics" are very small, and the most plausible interpretation of the data at this point is that neither the number of racial contacts nor the quality of such contacts are strongly enough related to hours of work to expect racial attitudes to be affected to any large degree.

Self-esteem was measured by a composite of responses to eight items in Form 5 (see O'Malley and Bachman, 1979, for a description of the index derivation). Neither this global measure nor its components showed any differences in relation to hours of work[1] (see Table 26). It thus appears that 1) work intensity in senior year has little effect on how seniors view themselves, and 2) self-esteem has little to do with the factors which might cause seniors to "select themselves into" a particular number of hours per week of work.

Locus of Control. Although fairly strong distinctions emerged between the college plans subgroups in how internalized are their views of the causes and consequences of their actions, hours of work showed no relationship with either the locus of control composite nor with its component items.

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[1]We also checked to see whether the very low correlations might be due to a reduction among workers in the centrality to self-esteem of self-rated school abilities coupled with an increase in some other, perhaps work-related, compensatory factor(s). We ran regressions separately for members of each sex and college-plans subgroup working no hours, 1-10 hours, 11-20 hours, 21-30 hours, and more than 30 hours; for each of these subgroups we calculated the amount of variance in the self-esteem measure which could be explained by self-rated school abilities and grades. With the exception of noncollege-bound males working 11-30 hours, no evidence of some compensatory influence on self-esteem was found.

Loneliness. There were no important subgroup differences in feelings of loneliness, and the correlations between loneliness and hours of work were trivially small.

Agreement with Parents. It could be argued that, compared to the attitudes we have been discussing so far, perceived similarities between the seniors' own views and those of their parents are relatively more subject to change in response to day-to-day experiences, experimentations, and parent-teen interactions. As such, we might expect larger relationships with our measure of recent or current work intensity, and we might more easily place them on the effect side, rather than the selection side, of a cause-effect model. However, any effects we describe may really be elements of more general selecting causes. For example, seniors who consider themselves to be at odds with their parents' values may choose to become less financially dependent upon them by working longer hours. Arguments on the "effect" side include the most often posited impact of student work experience: that of increased independence from parents, both financial and psychological, as a component of the socialization to adulthood which the transition from school to work is said to foster (Panel on Youth, 1973; Carnegie, 1979).

Empirical evidence supporting such an effect is scanty. Gottfredson (1985) reported that working may cause a decrease in dependence upon parents among boys in senior high school, but not among girls; the females in her sample who worked showed less parental dependency both before and after they began their employment than did the nonworking females. In their longitudinal analyses, Steinberg and Greenburger (1981) found a slight but significant decline in "family closeness" among working girls, but not boys. While "family closeness" is not synonymous with dependence, an important step in the development of independence might be developing a sense of emotional distance from parents. And, while independence is not synonymous with disagreement, responses to the questionnaire items presented in Table 27 concerning disagreement with parents over a wide range of issues may tap into the extent to which seniors think independently about such matters, their willingness to admit to disagreement, and whether they know what their parents' ideas are—seemingly necessary preludes to informed, "adultlike" independent attitude formation. By examining not only mean "agreements" but also the distributions of "don't know" responses over the question set (see Table 28), we might also get a sense of the sorts of issues considered to be most important to seniors (and their parents), and whether these topics change with increasing involvement outside the home in part-time work.

On the whole, noncollege-bound males are least likely to agree with their parents, and also most likely to say they don't know whether their ideas agree with their parents' ideas. The college-bound of both sexes who express opinions appear more affected by current work intensity than the noncollege-bound; but the effects even within this group are generally very small. There appears to be little quarrel between seniors and their parents over what values are important in life, the value of education, appropriate roles for women, and other societal issues. College-bound females who work long hours disagree slightly more often about the value of education. Noncollege-bound males are slightly more apt to agree with their parents' politics, if they work (the number of hours they work appears to make little difference). Perhaps not surprisingly, the percentages who don't know whether their parents' views are similar or not are highest for politics and conservation and pollution issues; and hours of work do not consistently affect the seniors' ability to make a judgement on these issues. Closer to home for the females is the question of appropriate roles for women, with between 89% and 94% expressing an opinion about the extent to which their views fit their parents' views, compared to only 75% to 87% of the males.

Of the items which most touch on seniors' everyday experience, noncollege-bound males are again least likely to know whether their views are similar to their parents', and college-bound females are most likely to "know" (or, are least apt to pick the "don't know" alternative). These items are also the most controversial, especially for the noncollege-bound males. About a third of the seniors in this subgroup expresses disagreement concerning the clothes they wear, and over half differ with their parents about what they do in their leisure time and how they spend their money. Contrary to the National Panel's suggestion that earning money by working may resolve intrafamilial conflicts regarding "'supernumerary' aspects of consumption" (1973, p. 66), the distributions and summary statistics actually show increases in disagreement over spending money among those of the college-bound with the most money to spend, and little or no effect among the noncollege-bound. The near "religious conviction" which Greenburger (1985) speculates to underlie most parents' hands-off policies toward their children's money management thus does not forestall the children's perceptions of disagreement about spending. Indeed, any such hands-off policies might serve to increase such perceptions of disagreement in at least two ways: (1) children are left freer to indulge in "questionable" spending; (2) parents, having surrendered the final decision to the children, may feel less inhibited and/or more obligated to express their own opinions about various expenditures.

While parents' ideas about dating behavior is the least likely of all day-to-day activities to be known to the males in our sample, such knowledge (but not extent of agreement or disagreement) is most strongly related to work intensity, probably because dating itself has a fairly strong, linear, positive relationship with hours worked (see section on spending patterns and leisure activities). Although females are also more likely to date as their working hours increase, knowledge about their parents' attitudes are uniformly higher than that of the males and not related to hours of work, indicating a gender difference in the importance to both parent and teen concerning the communication and enforcement of proper dating behavior.

Of the three questions on substance use, parents' ideas about drinking are most known to seniors, and also least agreed with, especially by noncollege-bound males. Greater proportions of this subgroup also choose the "don't know" alternative for the marijuana and other drug items, although the percentages who do know rise from about 86% of the nonworkers to 90% of those working more than twenty hours a week (over 90% of the college-bound males, and of both sets of females, express some opinion on these two items). Current work intensity is negatively related to agreement with parents' ideas about marijuana and other drug use for females, especially those who plan to complete four years of college. Although this subgroup ranks highest in agreement with their parents concerning these issues, fully 40% of those who work more than thirty hours a week disagree with their parents about marijuana use, versus 27% of those not working. The percentages of college-bound females who differ with their parents on the use of other drugs are much lower, but the differences between the non- or low-intensity workers and those working the longest hours are still quite large (15% vs. 27%). Slightly smaller increases in disagreement (from higher starting points) occur for the noncollege-bound females and for college-bound males, while disagreement is fairly uniform over the hours worked distribution of noncollege-bound males. Whether or not this perceived lack of agreement is related to higher drug using behaviors among workers will be taken up in the next section.

Are the slightly greater perceived differences concerning day-to-day issues among the longer-working college-bound, and working females in general, symptomatic of more general disharmony in their relations with their parents? There is some evidence to support this notion from their responses to two items in a different form of the questionnaire. Table 29 indicates a slight tendency for those who work longer hours to

more often "argue or have a fight" with their parents. It is interesting to note, however, that although perceived disagreement on most specific issues is highest among noncollege-bound males, their scores on this general item are similar to those of college-bound males and slightly lower than those of the females. Conversely, college-bound females, whose specific disagreement scores were lowest, report the highest number of arguments with their parents.

Table 22

Somatic Symptoms and Hours Worked: Correlation Statistics for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup Classes of 1982–1984, Combined

1D15: During the LAST 30 DAYS, on how many days (if any) did you have the following problems or symptoms? *Answer categories range from 1="None" to 7="20+ days".*	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
Headache					
eta, adj.	.040	.048	.000	.034	.076
r	.019	.055	.050	.042	.086
Sore throat or hoarse voice					
eta, adj.	.033	.000	.062	.000	.117
r	.006	.012	.043	.000	.085
Trouble with sinus congestion, runny nose, or sneezing					
eta, adj.	.025	.028	.000	.000	.035
r	.012	−.004	.059	.009	.047
Coughing spells					
eta, adj.	.014	.000	.000	.027	.055
r	.013	−.022	.010	.026	.047
Chest colds					
eta, adj.	.031	.000	.082	.000	.075
r	.011	−.015	.030	.018	.044
Coughing up phlegm or blood					
eta, adj.	.014	.007	.000	.039	.006
r	.008	−.009	−.017	.006	.058
Shortness of breath when you were not exercising					
eta, adj.	.039	.006	.051	.049	.096
r	.027	.020	.045	.051	.008
Wheezing or gasping					
eta, adj.	.021	.040	.000	.028	.072
r	.029	.051	.006	.022	.036
Trouble remembering new things					
eta, adj.	.024	.060	.064	.047	.000
r	.009	.039	−.042	.060	−.012
Difficulty thinking or concentrating					
eta, adj.	.031	.000	.024	.047	.000
r	−.002	−.006	.020	.061	−.010
Trouble learning new things					
eta, adj.	.038	.049	.039	.063	.048
r	−.021	.004	−.031	−.006	−.062
Trouble sleeping					
eta, adj.	.036	.027	.054	.056	.086
r	.018	.001	−.002	.045	.084
Trouble getting started in the morning					
eta, adj.	.070	.040	.048	.137	.061
r	.065	.046	.059	.129	.076
Stayed home most or all of a day because you were not feeling well					
eta, adj.	.000	.000	.035	.080	.054
r	.000	.017	.008	.033	.017
Approximate N	*7411*	*2035*	*1339*	*2154*	*1529*

Table 23

Health Habits and Hours Worked: Means and Correlation Statistics for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1982-1984, Combined

2E20: How often do you... *Answer categories range from 1="Never" to 6="Every day".*	Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
			College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
(a) Eat breakfast?	0 Hours	3.769	4.338	3.830	3.592	3.399
	1-10	3.958	4.438	4.180	3.747	3.400
	11-20	3.690	4.186	3.639	3.502	3.236
	21-30	3.380	3.882	3.497	3.093	2.921
	31+	3.228	3.417	3.459	2.817	2.827
	eta, adj.	.136	.164	.121	.162	.135
	r	−.118	−.153	−.110	−.140	−.130
(b) Eat at least some green vegetables?	0 Hours	4.139	4.405	3.837	4.260	3.877
	1-10	4.366	4.623	4.179	4.514	3.989
	11-20	4.199	4.491	4.058	4.170	3.889
	21-30	4.014	4.282	3.817	4.103	3.622
	31+	3.947	4.051	4.035	3.985	3.543
	eta, adj.	.100	.114	.112	.109	.102
	r	−.065	−.081	−.005	−.083	−.093
(c) Eat at least some fruit?	0 Hours	4.118	4.421	3.774	4.207	3.900
	1-10	4.355	4.630	4.223	4.480	3.918
	11-20	4.107	4.349	3.942	4.210	3.713
	21-30	4.004	4.290	3.864	4.113	3.588
	31+	3.993	4.172	3.939	4.064	3.641
	eta, adj.	.090	.102	.090	.090	.099
	r	−.060	−.074	−.007	−.054	−.103
(d) Exercise vigorously?	0 Hours	3.960	4.631	3.995	3.835	3.363
	1-10	4.236	4.857	4.066	4.049	3.623
	11-20	3.889	4.372	3.928	3.771	3.327
	21-30	3.795	4.262	3.662	3.805	3.236
	31+	3.948	4.340	4.060	3.639	3.609
	eta, adj.	.098	.157	.097	.057	.087
	r	−.055	−.131	−.039	−.040	−.020
(e) Get at least seven hours of sleep?	0 Hours	4.404	4.633	4.306	4.257	4.395
	1-10	4.459	4.597	4.449	4.424	4.343
	11-20	4.187	4.385	4.154	4.113	4.039
	21-30	3.975	4.173	4.020	3.945	3.665
	31+	3.756	3.841	3.845	3.506	3.719
	eta, adj.	.168	.181	.128	.171	.211
	r	−.162	−.178	−.129	−.145	−.210
(f) Get less sleep than you think you should?	0 Hours	3.193	3.317	3.184	3.305	2.962
	1-10	3.198	3.299	3.133	3.137	3.134
	11-20	3.452	3.506	3.368	3.542	3.301
	21-30	3.528	3.638	3.411	3.565	3.498
	31+	3.643	4.053	3.365	3.628	3.630
	eta, adj.	.112	.142	.082	.121	.153
	r	.110	.137	.059	.102	.150
Approximate N		7430	2064	1390	2154	1500

Table 24

Concern for Others and Hours Worked: Mean Ranges and Correlations Statistics for the Total Sample and for Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
Concern for others index[a]					
$\bar{X}$ range	3.6–3.8	3.5–3.8	3.3–3.4	4.0–4.1	3.8–3.9
eta, adj.	.099	.079	.000	.000	.000
r	−.085	−.075	−.041	−.022	−.017
5A18: These next questions ask your opinions about a number of different topics. How much do you agree or disagree with each statement below? *Answer categories range from 1="Disagree" to 5="Agree".*					
(a) We ought to worry about our own country and let the rest of the world take care of itself					
$\bar{X}$ range	2.8–3.1	2.5–2.9	3.1–3.3	2.6–2.8	2.9–3.2
eta, adj.	.052	.067	.000	.044	.035
r	.037	.047	.028	−.002	−.007
(c) I find it hard to be sympathetic toward starving people in foreign lands, when there is so much trouble in our own country					
$\bar{X}$ range	2.3–2.7	2.6–2.9	2.8–3.2	1.9–2.1	2.0–2.2
eta, adj.	.076	.049	.070	.005	.000
r	.064	.052	.041	.017	−.004
(d) Maybe some minority groups do get unfair treatment, but that's no business of mine					
$\bar{X}$ range	2.0–2.3	2.0–2.2	2.4–2.7	1.7–1.8	2.0–2.1
eta, adj.	.080	.047	.051	.000	.023
r	.054	.045	.005	−.020	−.001
(e) I get very upset when I see other people treated unfairly					
$\bar{X}$ range	4.1–4.3	4.0–4.2	3.9–4.1	4.4–4.5	4.3–4.5
eta, adj.	.060	.059	.026	.000	.033
r	−.055	−.038	−.035	.008	−.049
(f) I would agree to a good plan to make a better life for the poor, even if it cost me money					
$\bar{X}$ range	3.4–3.6	3.1–3.5	3.1–3.3	3.7–3.9	3.6–3.8
eta, adj.	.069	.063	.000	.032	.066
r	−.064	−.050	−.009	−.025	−.052
(g) It's really not my problem if others are in trouble and need help					
$\bar{X}$ range	1.9–2.2	2.0–2.2	2.2–2.5	1.7–1.8	1.8–2.0
eta, adj.	.064	.045	.032	.014	.045
r	.050	.041	.037	−.013	−.029

[a] Scores for the index range from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest).

Table 25

Racial Attitudes and Hours Worked for White Respondents in the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup Classes of 1980–84, Combined

Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
5A07f: How much have you gotten to know people of other races on a job? *Answer categories are: (1) Not at all, (2) A little, (3) Some, (4) A lot.*[a]					
0 Hours	2.315	2.326	2.205	2.378	2.301
1–10	2.520	2.538	2.564	2.521	2.458
11–20	2.725	2.726	2.629	2.781	2.712
21–30	2.890	2.959	2.713	2.976	2.915
31+	2.959	2.948	2.877	2.997	3.068
eta, adj.	*.195*	*.203*	*.167*	*.202*	*.229*
r	*.191*	*.199*	*.162*	*.195*	*.229*
3A07: How would you feel about... *Answer categories are: (1) Not at all acceptable, (2) Somewhat acceptable, (3) Acceptable, (4) Desirable.*					
(a) Having close personal friends of another race?					
0 Hours	3.212	3.207	2.982	3.327	3.212
1–10	3.209	3.168	2.964	3.348	3.242
11–20	3.179	3.151	2.922	3.332	3.177
21–30	3.147	3.140	2.952	3.301	3.201
31+	3.037	3.045	2.789	3.441	3.188
eta, adj.	*.070*	*.046*	*.077*	*.010*	*.000*
r	*−.065*	*−.051*	*−.063*	*.006*	*−.017*
(b) Having a job with a supervisor of a different race?					
0 Hours	3.039	2.982	2.926	3.106	3.095
1–10	3.014	2.951	2.876	3.088	3.094
11–20	2.997	2.928	2.795	3.139	3.027
21–30	2.978	2.930	2.837	3.108	3.049
31+	2.916	2.905	2.703	3.239	3.073
eta, adj.	*.050*	*.000*	*.115*	*.036*	*.030*
r	*−.047*	*−.027*	*−.076*	*.034*	*−.023*
(c) Having a family of a different race (but same level of education and income) move next door to you?					
0 Hours	3.024	2.994	2.727	3.176	3.031
1–10	3.027	2.989	2.727	3.188	3.051
11–20	2.984	2.918	2.732	3.141	3.021
21–30	2.961	2.880	2.774	3.131	3.072
31+	2.866	2.830	2.609	3.254	3.079
eta, adj.	*.061*	*.062*	*.085*	*.037*	*.000*
r	*−.058*	*−.067*	*−.028*	*−.020*	*.013*

Table 25, Continued

Racial Attitudes and Hours Worked for White Respondents

Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
(d) Having your (future) children's friends be all of your race?					
0 Hours	2.606	2.543	2.791	2.512	2.682
1-10	2.646	2.647	2.854	2.512	2.732
11-20	2.698	2.703	2.832	2.547	2.774
21-30	2.728	2.770	2.851	2.510	2.766
31+	2.711	2.713	2.899	2.449	2.585
eta, adj.	*.039*	*.068*	*.075*	*.000*	*.062*
r	*.041*	*.070*	*.016*	*−.001*	*−.003*
(e) Having some of your (future) children's friends be of other races?					
0 Hours	3.217	3.230	2.897	3.405	3.152
1-10	3.208	3.204	2.947	3.356	3.187
11-20	3.185	3.159	2.907	3.351	3.187
21-30	3.116	3.064	2.910	3.300	3.198
31+	3.041	3.047	2.770	3.383	3.269
eta, adj.	*.073*	*.083*	*.047*	*.038*	*.000*
r	*−.071*	*−.089*	*−.045*	*−.041*	*.037*
3A08: How would you feel about having a job where...					
(a) ...all the employees are of your race?					
0 Hours	3.018	2.972	3.108	2.972	3.082
1-10	3.048	3.044	3.221	2.934	3.133
11-20	3.101	3.097	3.190	3.004	3.168
21-30	3.122	3.117	3.225	3.016	3.143
31+	3.117	3.110	3.344	2.927	2.907
eta, adj.	*.046*	*.063*	*.091*	*.022*	*.109*
r	*.047*	*.070*	*.067*	*.017*	*−.033*
(b) ...some employees are of a different race?					
0 Hours	3.192	3.162	3.023	3.274	3.240
1-10	3.190	3.197	3.014	3.257	3.203
11-20	3.176	3.117	2.994	3.306	3.218
21-30	3.156	3.116	3.012	3.282	3.222
31+	3.118	3.130	2.962	3.384	3.211
eta, adj.	*.035*	*.046*	*.042*	*.054*	*.000*
r	*−.038*	*−.039*	*−.025*	*.029*	*−.009*
(c) ...most employees are of a different race?					
0 Hours	2.444	2.383	2.392	2.454	2.527
1-10	2.424	2.387	2.387	2.443	2.438
11-20	2.344	2.308	2.321	2.399	2.331
21-30	2.366	2.347	2.221	2.443	2.428
31+	2.371	2.321	2.191	2.587	2.539
eta, adj.	*.045*	*.000*	*.101*	*.036*	*.082*
r	*−.035*	*−.024*	*−.094*	*.011*	*−.013*

Table 25, Continued

Racial Attitudes and Hours Worked for White Respondents

Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
3A09: How would you feel about living in an area where...					
(a) ...all the neighbors are of your race?					
0 Hours	3.225	3.163	3.293	3.198	3.318
1-10	3.228	3.235	3.369	3.152	3.271
11-20	3.299	3.272	3.373	3.228	3.377
21-30	3.333	3.307	3.385	3.281	3.366
31+	3.333	3.321	3.476	3.128	3.239
eta, adj.	*.062*	*.065*	*.072*	*.048*	*.077*
r	*.061*	*.072*	*.061*	*.033*	*.002*
(b) ...some of the neighbors are of other races?					
0 Hours	3.065	3.063	2.911	3.138	3.092
1-10	3.099	3.087	2.960	3.166	3.130
11-20	3.050	2.994	2.888	3.144	3.116
21-30	3.047	3.012	2.886	3.195	3.108
31+	2.992	2.897	2.868	3.283	3.116
eta, adj.	*.047*	*.076*	*.041*	*.054*	*.000*
r	*−.039*	*−.070*	*−.039*	*.037*	*.002*
(c) ...most of the neighbors are of other races?					
0 Hours	2.232	2.212	2.161	2.254	2.293
1-10	2.209	2.156	2.161	2.243	2.236
11-20	2.090	2.049	1.996	2.134	2.150
21-30	2.102	2.067	1.942	2.212	2.173
31+	2.100	2.009	1.964	2.318	2.265
eta, adj.	*.070*	*.076*	*.115*	*.064*	*.061*
r	*−.062*	*−.071*	*−.100*	*−.017*	*−.034*
3A10: How would you feel about having your (future) children go to schools where...					
(a) ...all the children are of your race?					
0 Hours	3.083	3.000	3.243	3.005	3.200
1-10	3.091	3.106	3.260	2.958	3.180
11-20	3.155	3.124	3.273	3.032	3.280
21-30	3.220	3.196	3.304	3.087	3.284
31+	3.225	3.202	3.372	3.005	3.139
eta, adj.	*.065*	*.076*	*.065*	*.039*	*.073*
r	*.066*	*.082*	*.041*	*.032*	*.014*
(b) ...some of the children are of other races?					
0 Hours	3.214	3.174	3.062	3.311	3.235
1-10	3.212	3.209	2.996	3.312	3.235
11-20	3.196	3.142	3.016	3.334	3.218
21-30	3.165	3.125	3.019	3.334	3.198
31+	3.107	3.136	2.914	3.377	3.239
eta, adj.	*.053*	*.051*	*.065*	*.000*	*.000*
r	*−.051*	*−.047*	*−.051*	*.026*	*−.016*
(c) ...most of the children are of other races?					
0 Hours	2.160	2.131	2.073	2.175	2.235
1-10	2.112	2.105	2.019	2.152	2.106
11-20	2.018	1.964	1.970	2.063	2.055
21-30	2.027	1.991	1.913	2.123	2.080
31+	2.050	1.958	1.909	2.341	2.177
eta, adj.	*.063*	*.074*	*.080*	*.062*	*.067*
r	*−.053*	*−.068*	*−.072*	*−.007*	*−.038*

Table 25, Continued

Racial Attitudes and Hours Worked for White Respondents

Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
3A17: Generally, how do you feel about the experiences you have had with people of other races? *Answer categories are: (1) Very bad, (2) Mostly bad, (3) Mixed, (4) Mostly good, (5) Very good.*[a]					
0 Hours	3.906	3.846	3.600	4.068	3.944
1–10	3.909	3.876	3.577	4.099	3.933
11–20	3.808	3.721	3.519	4.014	3.833
21–30	3.749	3.671	3.543	3.972	3.835
31+	3.697	3.662	3.448	4.064	3.879
eta, adj.	*.056*	*.096*	*.037*	*.038*	*.042*
r	*−.056*	*−.094*	*−.040*	*−.044*	*−.043*
wtd. N	9574	2731	1959	2600	1954

[a] Answer category (8) "Does not apply to me", excluded.

Table 26

Self-Esteem and Hours Worked
for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup,
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

	Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
			College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
Self-Esteem Index[B]						
	0 Hours	4.095	4.218	3.941	4.182	3.946
	1–10	4.112	4.268	3.978	4.161	3.897
	11–20	4.120	4.204	4.058	4.131	4.012
	21–30	4.103	4.236	4.025	4.125	3.995
	31+	4.060	4.181	4.032	4.125	3.995
	eta, adj.	*.017*	*.050*	*.035*	*.013*	*.038*
	r	*−.010*	*−.022*	*.042*	*−.035*	*.040*
5D01: Do you agree or disagree with each of the following? *Answer categories are: (1) Disagree, (2) Mostly disagree, (3) Neither, (4) Mostly agree, (5) Agree.*						
(a) I take a positive attitude toward myself						
	0 Hours	4.158	4.269	4.118	4.180	4.023
	1–10	4.141	4.304	4.091	4.128	3.955
	11–20	4.114	4.234	4.115	4.044	4.038
	21–30	4.124	4.277	4.182	4.058	3.945
	31+	4.169	4.343	4.167	4.158	4.063
	eta, adj.	*.021*	*.033*	*.000*	*.055*	*.039*
	r	*−.007*	*−.001*	*.034*	*−.042*	*−.002*
(b) I feel I am a person of worth, on an equal plane with others						
	0 Hours	4.264	4.373	4.077	4.343	4.166
	1–10	4.297	4.431	4.194	4.350	4.116
	11–20	4.278	4.329	4.149	4.335	4.215
	21–30	4.248	4.398	4.123	4.302	4.143
	31+	4.220	4.327	4.092	4.455	4.222
	eta, adj.	*.021*	*.040*	*.000*	*.026*	*.033*
	r	*−.017*	*−.019*	*−.007*	*.001*	*.018*
(d) I am able to do things as well as most other people						
	0 Hours	4.372	4.510	4.259	4.399	4.265
	1–10	4.366	4.530	4.246	4.364	4.215
	11–20	4.359	4.456	4.300	4.369	4.242
	21–30	4.359	4.485	4.317	4.346	4.233
	31+	4.347	4.441	4.301	4.469	4.354
	eta, adj.	*.000*	*.031*	*.041*	*.037*	*.035*
	r	*−.007*	*−.033*	*.035*	*−.005*	*.020*
(h) On the whole, I'm satisfied with myself						
	0 Hours	4.123	4.104	4.038	4.172	4.094
	1–10	4.145	4.249	4.063	4.178	3.995
	11–20	4.116	4.163	4.095	4.123	4.050
	21–30	4.124	4.193	4.092	4.123	4.093
	31+	4.109	4.156	4.113	4.132	4.129
	eta, adj.	*.000*	*.037*	*.000*	*.000*	*.014*
	r	*−.006*	*.006*	*.025*	*−.025*	*.019*

Table 26, Continued

Self-Esteem and Hours Worked

Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
(l) I feel I do not have much to be proud of					
0 Hours	1.999	1.826	2.260	1.871	2.189
1–10	1.919	1.757	2.165	1.814	2.143
11–20	1.890	1.845	2.040	1.798	2.015
21–30	1.938	1.783	2.062	1.848	2.081
31+	2.033	1.963	2.090	1.795	2.178
eta, adj.	*.043*	*.058*	*.055*	*.008*	*.048*
r	*.001*	*.025*	*−.043*	*−.010*	*−.024*
(n) Sometimes I think that I am no good at all					
0 Hours	2.402	2.178	2.491	2.273	2.747
1–10	2.458	2.280	2.453	2.458	2.763
11–20	2.402	2.239	2.282	2.535	2.563
21–30	2.393	2.257	2.373	2.456	2.541
31+	2.432	2.210	2.366	2.502	2.666
eta, adj.	*.000*	*.021*	*.025*	*.068*	*.058*
r	*−.002*	*.014*	*−.032*	*.056*	*−.050*
(r) I feel that I can't do anything right					
0 Hours	1.965	1.769	2.132	1.865	2.154
1–10	1.916	1.743	2.208	1.781	2.186
11–20	1.905	1.817	2.053	1.833	2.052
21–30	1.932	1.797	2.100	1.822	2.008
31+	2.047	1.911	2.066	2.021	2.109
eta, adj.	*.033*	*.044*	*.000*	*.030*	*.037*
r	*.011*	*.038*	*−.025*	*.014*	*−.043*
(u) I feel that my life is not very useful					
0 Hours	1.802	1.693	2.053	1.671	1.937
1–10	1.767	1.601	1.987	1.693	1.946
11–20	1.737	1.680	1.873	1.660	1.854
21–30	1.773	1.654	1.936	1.681	1.818
31+	1.861	1.742	1.947	1.803	1.795
eta, adj.	*.035*	*.044*	*.019*	*.018*	*.019*
r	*.008*	*.017*	*−.025*	*.015*	*−.047*

[a]Scores for the index range from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest).

Table 27

Agreement with Parents and Hours Worked: Means and Correlation Statistics for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

How closely do your ideas agree with your PARENTS' ideas about... *Answer categories range from 1="Very similar" to 4="Very different". Category 8, "don't know," was excluded from this analysis.*	Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
			College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
What you should do with your life	0 Hours	1.949	1.782	2.140	1.833	2.221
	1–10	1.921	1.855	2.181	1.808	2.068
	11–20	1.947	1.851	2.190	1.800	2.115
	21–30	2.023	1.907	2.176	1.871	2.203
	31+	2.131	1.978	2.195	2.097	2.164
	eta, adj.	*.068*	*.067*	*.000*	*.088*	*.047*
	r	*.057*	*.070*	*.004*	*.044*	*.000*
N, excluding "don't know"		*11502*	*3173*	*1950*	*3472*	*2338*
What you do in your leisure time	0 Hours	2.607	2.596	2.858	2.550	2.567
	1–10	2.558	2.564	2.776	2.415	2.605
	11–20	2.649	2.654	2.772	2.539	2.723
	21–30	2.697	2.696	2.751	2.598	2.751
	31+	2.785	2.822	2.828	2.733	2.685
	eta, adj.	*.072*	*.088*	*.043*	*.076*	*.058*
	r	*.064*	*.079*	*−.009*	*.049*	*.066*
N, excluding "don't know"		*11661*	*3212*	*2013*	*3488*	*2376*
How you dress—what clothes you wear	0 Hours	2.096	2.077	2.327	2.004	2.133
	1–10	2.060	2.084	2.339	1.893	2.064
	11–20	2.068	2.090	2.347	1.911	2.030
	21–30	2.080	2.106	2.275	1.912	2.088
	31+	2.243	2.163	2.321	2.156	2.180
	eta, adj.	*.052*	*.046*	*.000*	*.067*	*.032*
	r	*.027*	*.030*	*−.016*	*−.005*	*−.002*
N, excluding "don't know"		*11855*	*3232*	*2082*	*3539*	*2429*
How you spend your money	0 Hours	2.509	2.537	2.884	2.344	2.504
	1–10	2.539	2.589	2.912	2.319	2.528
	11–20	2.628	2.667	2.873	2.489	2.596
	21–30	2.692	2.676	2.899	2.540	2.629
	31+	2.730	2.752	2.782	2.544	2.721
	eta, adj.	*.080*	*.072*	*.025*	*.081*	*.042*
	r	*.080*	*.074*	*−.029*	*.090*	*.065*
N, excluding "don't know"		*11859*	*3255*	*2103*	*3513*	*2418*
What things are O.K. to do when you are on a date	0 Hours	2.434	2.459	2.629	2.325	2.426
	1–10	2.366	2.383	2.726	2.190	2.381
	11–20	2.473	2.463	2.623	2.351	2.560
	21–30	2.498	2.541	2.595	2.333	2.605
	31+	2.535	2.428	2.632	2.432	2.512
	eta, adj.	*.055*	*.050*	*.000*	*.053*	*.084*
	r	*.044*	*.033*	*−.015*	*.035*	*.063*
N, excluding "don't know"		*10587*	*2780*	*1819*	*3225*	*2250*

Table 27, Continued

Agreement with Parents and Hours Worked

How closely do your ideas agree with your PARENTS' ideas about... *Answer categories range from 1="Very similar" to 4="Very different". Category 8, "don't know," was excluded from this analysis.*	Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
			College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
Whether it is O.K. to drink	0 Hours	2.280	2.260	2.505	2.173	2.351
	1–10	2.242	2.215	2.458	2.121	2.365
	11–20	2.370	2.328	2.525	2.283	2.452
	21–30	2.426	2.427	2.410	2.331	2.561
	31+	2.410	2.338	2.379	2.359	2.477
	eta, adj.	*.067*	*.058*	*.053*	*.068*	*.070*
	r	*.060*	*.060*	*−.037*	*.069*	*.067*
N, excluding "don't know"		*11751*	*3248*	*2073*	*3460*	*2394*
Whether it is O.K. to use marijuana	0 Hours	2.044	1.976	2.489	1.878	2.118
	1–10	1.995	1.979	2.367	1.814	2.029
	11–20	2.182	2.112	2.448	2.077	2.227
	21–30	2.290	2.189	2.448	2.141	2.396
	31+	2.306	2.084	2.394	2.222	2.370
	eta, adj.	*.088*	*.068*	*.036*	*.108*	*.107*
	r	*.089*	*.064*	*−.005*	*.102*	*.094*
N, excluding "don't know"		*11485*	*3181*	*1967*	*3417*	*2348*
Whether it is O.K. to use other drugs	0 Hours	1.799	1.723	2.278	1.579	1.915
	1–10	1.702	1.664	2.017	1.508	1.791
	11–20	1.869	1.750	2.247	1.743	1.966
	21–30	2.001	1.898	2.231	1.772	2.102
	31+	2.075	1.849	2.256	1.909	2.156
	eta, adj.	*.100*	*.063*	*.047*	*.088*	*.088*
	r	*.089*	*.062*	*.019*	*.095*	*.080*
N, excluding "don't know"		*11465*	*3195*	*1965*	*3417*	*2331*
What values are important in life	0 Hours	1.817	1.766	2.025	1.757	1.862
	1–10	1.800	1.771	2.083	1.680	1.811
	11–20	1.864	1.798	2.071	1.752	1.960
	21–30	1.888	1.867	2.001	1.725	1.993
	31+	1.945	1.831	1.984	1.896	1.966
	eta, adj.	*.048*	*.041*	*.017*	*.041*	*.062*
	r	*.050*	*.050*	*−.031*	*.023*	*.066*
N, excluding "don't know"		*11722*	*3237*	*2051*	*3478*	*2384*
The value of education	0 Hours	1.517	1.421	1.628	1.554	1.685
	1–10	1.536	1.414	1.897	1.388	1.711
	11–20	1.576	1.451	1.986	1.575	1.778
	21–30	1.626	1.488	1.818	1.418	1.851
	31+	1.700	1.526	1.866	1.594	1.829
	eta, adj.	*.078*	*.042*	*.053*	*.080*	*.056*
	r	*.077*	*.002*	*−.013*	*.076*	*.073*
N, excluding "don't know"		*12040*	*3330*	*2123*	*3557*	*2441*

Table 27, Continued

Agreement with Parents and Hours Worked

How closely do your ideas agree with your PARENTS' ideas about... *Answer categories range from 1="Very similar" to 4="Very different". Category 8, "don't know," was excluded from this analysis.*	Hours Worked Per Week	Total	Males		Females	
			College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
What are appropriate roles for women	0 Hours	1.884	1.905	2.166	1.770	1.878
	1-10	1.854	1.908	2.097	1.716	1.808
	11-20	1.896	1.911	2.167	1.774	1.915
	21-30	1.957	1.986	2.166	1.746	2.004
	31+	2.036	2.081	2.111	1.877	1.974
	eta, adj.	*.065*	*.050*	*.000*	*.030*	*.076*
	r	*.057*	*.057*	*.000*	*.018*	*.065*
N, excluding "don't know"		*10709*	*2630*	*1772*	*3315*	*2263*
Conservation and pollution issues	0 Hours	1.866	1.869	1.991	1.800	1.890
	1-10	1.850	1.805	2.096	1.760	1.892
	11-20	1.871	1.854	2.006	1.780	1.911
	21-30	1.934	1.904	2.053	1.777	2.008
	31+	1.998	1.893	2.016	1.938	2.092
	eta, adj.	*.051*	*.034*	*.000*	*.000*	*.043*
	r	*.050*	*.033*	*.008*	*.015*	*.069*
N, excluding "don't know"		*8390*	*2493*	*1558*	*2350*	*1562*
Racial issues	0 Hours	1.889	1.830	2.053	1.872	1.925
	1-10	1.858	1.796	2.063	1.843	1.855
	11-20	1.926	1.878	1.979	1.929	1.951
	21-30	1.952	1.938	1.984	1.882	2.061
	31+	1.997	1.895	1.954	2.003	2.170
	eta, adj.	*.037*	*.043*	*.000*	*.017*	*.071*
	r	*.041*	*.050*	*-.035*	*.026*	*.079*
N, excluding "don't know"		*9779*	*2822*	*1661*	*2946*	*1858*
Religion	0 Hours	1.776	1.790	1.974	1.744	1.707
	1-10	1.746	1.772	1.875	1.685	1.689
	11-20	1.837	1.862	1.968	1.753	1.828
	21-30	1.850	1.910	1.943	1.740	1.806
	31+	1.858	1.780	1.845	1.934	1.850
	eta, adj.	*.048*	*.051*	*.041*	*.043*	*.050*
	r	*.043*	*.037*	*-.018*	*.030*	*.061*
N, excluding "don't know"		*11043*	*3075*	*1899*	*3318*	*2205*
Politics	0 Hours	2.020	1.971	2.376	2.003	1.904
	1-10	2.003	2.001	2.080	1.947	2.015
	11-20	2.048	2.033	2.176	1.961	2.084
	21-30	2.050	2.045	2.132	1.941	2.100
	31+	2.097	2.215	1.990	2.098	2.056
	eta, adj.	*.022*	*.068*	*.108*	*.024*	*.083*
	r	*.026*	*.059*	*-.088*	*-.003*	*.077*
N, excluding "don't know"		*8219*	*2498*	*1496*	*2337*	*1460*

Table 28

Agreement with Parents' Ideas: Percentage Distributions for Five Levels of Weekly Hours Worked for Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

4E07: How closely do your ideas agree with your PARENTS' ideas about...	Hours Worked per Week	Percent Saying "Different" Excluding "Don't Know" from Base N[a]				Percent Saying "Don't Know"			
		Males		Females		Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
(a) What you should do with your life	0 Hours	12.1	30.2	14.9	33.0	9.4	14.9	4.4	8.3
	1–10	13.5	29.3	12.7	23.0	6.1	13.3	4.2	6.6
	11–20	12.1	30.5	12.5	27.3	6.3	10.5	3.2	7.2
	21–30	16.3	31.8	15.7	29.0	6.8	12.1	4.6	6.4
	31+	18.4	31.5	25.3	28.0	8.7	14.8	4.2	9.1
(b) What you do in your leisure time	0 Hours	50.1	61.1	47.8	50.7	8.4	14.2	3.1	8.1
	1–10	47.7	57.8	40.8	47.4	4.2	10.9	3.2	5.7
	11–20	51.6	59.7	44.9	55.4	5.3	8.4	2.8	5.0
	21–30	54.2	57.1	48.9	56.4	6.4	6.3	4.6	4.2
	31+	63.5	59.4	56.5	54.3	6.0	11.7	3.8	4.5
(c) How you dress – what clothes you wear	0 Hours	24.9	35.2	22.8	28.3	5.7	8.3	2.2	4.0
	1–10	25.7	36.2	17.7	27.4	4.0	6.5	1.1	3.7
	11–20	24.1	38.9	17.4	21.9	4.6	6.0	2.0	3.5
	21–30	26.2	34.2	19.7	26.9	5.2	5.2	1.9	2.2
	31+	28.9	37.3	27.8	30.4	6.5	6.7	3.1	4.6
(d) How you spend your money	0 Hours	48.1	61.6	38.0	47.7	6.5	6.7	3.3	5.3
	1–10	47.7	63.4	37.1	46.0	2.4	5.8	3.0	3.4
	11–20	53.5	62.1	44.9	48.6	3.7	4.7	1.9	3.9
	21–30	54.8	65.0	47.4	50.8	5.5	3.4	2.1	2.6
	31+	56.1	58.3	44.7	57.0	4.6	8.7	2.6	2.2
(e) What things are O.K. to do when you are on a date	0 Hours	43.0	50.7	37.7	42.9	23.9	20.6	11.7	10.5
	1–10	39.4	54.4	32.1	36.8	17.7	18.9	9.8	11.6
	11–20	41.3	50.4	39.6	46.4	18.4	18.5	10.7	10.6
	21–30	46.8	50.1	38.2	47.7	15.4	16.5	9.6	10.3
	31+	39.9	51.3	42.5	48.4	13.6	16.5	9.4	7.5

Table 28, Continued

Agreement with Parents' Ideas: Percentage Distributions for
Five Levels of Weekly Hours Worked for Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

4E07: How closely do your ideas agree with your PARENTS' ideas about...	Hours Worked per Week	Percent Saying "Different" Excluding "Don't Know" from Base N[a]				Percent Saying "Don't Know"			
		Males		Females		Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
(f) Whether it is O.K. to drink	0 Hours	37.8	50.5	33.8	42.3	6.9	8.8	5.8	6.1
	1–10	34.2	45.3	28.9	38.6	3.7	9.4	5.1	7.7
	11–20	39.9	46.8	36.6	44.1	3.5	8.0	3.0	4.3
	21–30	42.8	42.8	39.1	47.5	4.5	6.5	2.8	4.0
	31+	38.4	43.5	39.7	43.7	7.0	6.5	3.6	3.5
(g) Whether it is O.K. to use marijuana	0 Hours	30.2	49.7	27.0	36.0	8.8	14.3	5.7	6.4
	1–10	31.6	44.1	25.1	32.0	4.8	12.5	7.0	7.7
	11–20	34.6	48.3	33.0	40.0	4.9	11.6	4.1	6.1
	21–30	38.3	48.1	36.5	45.2	6.8	10.0	4.0	6.0
	31+	35.4	47.1	40.1	44.6	9.7	10.6	6.1	8.1
(h) Whether it is O.K. to use other drugs	0 Hours	22.3	41.5	15.8	27.6	8.2	12.1	5.7	7.1
	1–10	18.5	30.8	14.0	23.3	5.1	11.6	6.6	7.3
	11–20	21.8	40.2	21.1	29.9	4.4	12.2	3.5	6.6
	21–30	27.6	39.5	22.5	34.3	5.9	11.0	3.7	6.8
	31+	26.8	42.2	27.1	37.4	7.9	10.5	5.6	8.5
(i) What values are important in life	0 Hours	14.1	26.7	14.8	20.8	6.5	9.9	3.7	6.8
	1–10	13.5	26.6	11.4	16.3	2.8	6.4	2.7	4.7
	11–20	14.2	26.0	12.7	19.2	3.8	8.2	2.6	4.7
	21–30	18.4	24.3	15.0	21.7	4.1	6.3	2.8	3.0
	31+	17.4	25.7	21.3	23.2	5.6	7.8	2.5	3.6
(j) The value of education	0 Hours	6.2	20.4	3.9	13.9	2.4	6.1	1.5	3.1
	1–10	5.3	20.0	4.1	12.4	1.5	2.9	0.5	2.3
	11–20	6.9	24.3	4.3	13.7	1.5	3.9	0.8	2.1
	21–30	7.0	17.4	6.4	18.7	2.4	2.4	0.5	2.2
	31+	10.2	22.3	10.8	20.0	3.4	6.4	1.4	3.5

Table 28, Continued

Agreement with Parents' Ideas: Percentage Distributions for
Five Levels of Weekly Hours Worked for Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

4E07: How closely do your ideas agree with your PARENTS' ideas about...	Hours Worked per Week	Percent Saying "Different" Excluding "Don't Know" from Base N[a]				Percent Saying "Don't Know"			
		Males		Females		Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-colleg bound
(k) What are appropriate roles for women	0 Hours	17.5	30.1	16.2	20.7	19.6	25.2	9.6	11.4
	1–10	16.0	26.4	12.9	17.3	13.3	20.8	6.3	9.5
	11–20	16.8	28.1	14.7	17.2	15.0	21.6	7.0	9.7
	21–30	22.2	30.5	14.4	21.8	17.3	17.3	6.5	8.2
	31+	24.4	30.0	20.7	22.3	17.1	16.5	8.8	6.7
(l) Conservation and pollution issues	0 Hours	15.6	24.7	13.4	18.6	28.7	34.3	35.9	37.6
	1–10	12.5	26.2	10.8	17.7	23.5	33.7	29.3	34.9
	11–20	13.7	23.8	12.1	15.7	24.8	27.6	33.6	37.7
	21–30	15.6	24.7	14.3	21.9	28.6	27.3	38.1	39.1
	31+	16.1	26.4	21.4	25.2	27.3	27.1	31.5	35.8
(m) Racial issues	0 Hours	19.6	29.6	21.2	23.2	16.4	29.6	18.8	24.6
	1–10	15.3	24.2	18.3	19.3	14.8	28.6	14.4	28.0
	11–20	16.8	23.9	22.2	21.1	16.0	23.4	16.4	25.3
	21–30	21.4	23.4	22.4	26.1	19.0	21.6	17.8	25.6
	31+	20.0	22.9	25.3	35.4	17.8	24.0	22.9	26.5
(n) Religion	0 Hours	18.1	24.2	17.2	15.0	10.1	19.0	7.3	11.1
	1–10	17.2	22.0	14.4	16.5	7.1	18.1	5.9	14.8
	11–20	21.0	26.2	16.5	17.7	8.5	12.4	7.0	10.4
	21–30	21.7	24.6	17.7	19.4	11.2	10.7	6.9	11.5
	31+	16.3	19.2	23.4	22.4	8.5	14.1	9.5	15.1
(o) Politics	0 Hours	19.9	39.5	19.7	20.1	27.2	36.8	34.6	38.6
	1–10	18.4	25.9	20.5	24.5	26.7	32.9	31.8	40.1
	11–20	22.0	29.4	18.2	21.3	24.6	29.9	33.8	42.8
	21–30	23.1	27.3	19.3	27.3	26.4	31.4	37.3	41.4
	31+	28.0	26.6	28.6	29.7	25.9	32.0	35.8	46.8

Approximate base Ns are: college-bound males 3420, noncollege-bound males 2240, college-bound females 3620, noncollege-bound females 2520.

[a]Answer categories are: 1 = Very similar, 2 = Somewhat similar, 3 = Somewhat different, 4 = Very different, and 8 = Don't know. Percents saying different are those for categories 3 and 4 combined, excluding from the denominator those respondents who chose category 8.

Table 29

Arguments with Parents and Hours Worked: Means and Correlations Statistics for the Total Sample and Each Sex and College Plans Subgroup
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

	Hours Worked per Week	Total	Males		Females	
			College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
2A19a:	**During the last 12 months, how often have you argued or had a fight with either of your parents?** *Answer categories are (1) Not at all, (2) Once, (3) Twice, (4) 3 or 4 times, (5) 5 or more times.*					
	0 Hours	3.542	3.337	3.477	3.656	3.641
	1–10	3.640	3.570	3.316	3.922	3.704
	11–20	3.893	3.768	3.679	4.093	3.971
	21–30	3.894	3.834	3.738	4.036	4.030
	31+	3.711	3.638	3.607	3.953	3.886
	eta, adj.	*.106*	*.122*	*.083*	*.128*	*.115*
	r	*.076*	*.104*	*.059*	*.103*	*.104*
	Number of cases	12806	3613	2428	3612	2698
2E07a:	**Within the past three months, how often have you had arguments or quarrels with your parents or other older relatives?** *Answer categories are (1) Not at all, (2) Once or twice, (3) Every month, (4) Every week, (5) Almost daily.*					
	0 Hours	2.343	2.112	2.226	2.484	2.454
	1–10	2.331	2.203	2.078	2.535	2.472
	11–20	2.518	2.366	2.247	2.741	2.608
	21–30	2.511	2.468	2.344	2.639	2.609
	31+	2.417	2.358	2.338	2.624	2.534
	eta, adj.	*.073*	*.122*	*.078*	*.082*	*.048*
	r	*.051*	*.109*	*.062*	*.063*	*.047*
	Number of cases	14078	3821	2758	3821	2944

DELINQUENCY, VICTIMIZATION, AND DRUG USE

Among the possible negative consequences of part-time work during high school are increased frequencies of disapproved and often illegal behaviors, such as vandalism, theft from employers, interpersonal aggression, and use of drugs (Greenberger et al., 1985; Lewis et al., 1983; Bachman, Johnston, and O'Malley, 1981). In this section we examine a wide range of such disapproved behaviors, and some related dimensions of experience such as victimization. Our analysis relates current rates of part-time employment to behaviors and experiences which are in most instances fairly recent. We are thus able to point out some possible negative effects of part-time work; however, other causal interpretations remain possible, and often quite plausible. In some analyses, in fact, we make use of retrospective data to show that drug use during earlier years (ninth grade and earlier) is positively correlated with later (senior year) hours of part-time work.

As the comments above suggest, we have two interrelated purposes in this section. First, we document some further important correlates of part-time work. Second, we offer additional evidence and interpretation that bears on how such relationships might be interpreted. It would be foolish to suppose that the substantial hours that some seniors invest in work, as well as the substantial earnings which result, have no impact on other areas of their lives. But it would be equally foolish to conclude that anything correlated with hours of work must be a direct (or indirect) consequence of the work experience. In the discussion which follows we have tried to avoid both types of error.

Throughout this section we have opted to report percentages rather than mean scores. We accomplished this simply by converting response scales to dichotomies. In most instances this meant that "not at all" was coded 0 and all other responses were coded 1. Dichotomizing has the advantage of simplicity and clarity, but sometimes at the cost of lost information and reduced correlations. For most of the present data, however, we found no reduction in strength of relationships when we switched from the full response scales to dichotomies.

Aggressive and Delinquent Behaviors. Our measures of delinquent and aggressive behaviors are displayed in Table 30. One set of items asks how often during the last twelve months the respondent had done each of sixteen different things, many of them illegal. The first item on the list, arguing or fighting with parents, is reported by large majorities of all respondents, whether they work or not. For all other items, only a minority—and often a very small minority—reported any such behavior during the past year. We found it useful to group most of the behaviors in the list into two broad categories, aggression (items b-f) and property offenses (items g-o); and we built index scores (means, based on the dichotomized items) for each.

Are there any consistent differences in aggression and property offenses associated with hours of part-time work during high school? In general, the answer is yes, although most of the correlations are not very large. Compared with those working ten or fewer hours per week (or not at all), those with the longest hours (more than thirty) were twice as likely to report such aggressive behaviors as hitting an instructor or supervisor, getting into a serious fight in school or at work, hurting someone badly enough to need bandages or a doctor, or threatening someone with a weapon. Most of the measures of theft and vandalism showed smaller relationships with hours of work. The one exception involves deliberate damage to property at work—11% of those working long hours reported doing so, compared with only 4% or 5% of those working few hours. This is hardly surprising, since those working longer hours presumably have more opportunities (and perhaps more provocations) for such behaviors.

Another set of items shown in Table 30 deals with aggressive feelings and acts during the past three months. Here again we see some positive correlation with hours of work—those working the longest hours are also more likely to get angry enough to smash something or hit somebody. It is interesting to note that feeling the urge to do such things is quite common; for example, three quarters of all respondents report having the urge to smash something, and there is no correlation with hours of work. But only one quarter of those working twenty or fewer hours actually did smash something, compared to one third of those working twenty-six or more hours.

Victimization. We have just seen that those who work longer hours are somewhat more likely to engage in aggressive and delinquent behaviors. Are they also more likely to be on the receiving end of such behaviors?

Two sets of questionnaire items ask respondents whether they themselves have been the victims of theft, vandalism, or aggression. The first set covers all such experiences during the past twelve months. The second set, which appears in a different questionnaire form and thus is answered by different respondents, is identical to the first except that it asks specifically about things that happened while in school (inside or outside or in a school bus). Both sets of items are presented in Table 31, along with index scores based on four of the items which we judged most serious (theft over $50, property damage, threat or injury with a weapon). Nearly all of the items show a clear tendency for higher rates of victimization among those working the longest hours. For the more serious events, the rate is about half again as high for those working more than thirty hours as for those working twenty or fewer hours. Thus, for example, about 16% of those working twenty hours or less had been threatened with a weapon (but not actually injured) during the past year, compared with 24% of those working more than thirty hours. Actual injury with a weapon is much more rare, but the likelihood is twice as high for those working the longest hours (9% versus 4%).

Is there something specific to the work environment that causes these higher levels of victimization? If so, then we might expect to find little or no relationship between hours of work and victimization in school. (Indeed, because those working longest hours on the job tend to spend less time in school, their rates of in-school victimization might actually be lower than average). In fact, however, nearly two-thirds of all victimization among high school seniors occurs in school (including school grounds and buses), and this ratio is just the same for those working many hours outside of school as for those with few or no hours on a job. It thus appears that the relationship between working hours and victimization reflects something more than particular job environments and experiences. The more likely explanation is that those who seek and obtain long hours of work while in high school depart from average in a number of respects, including both delinquency and victimization.

The seniors working the longest hours on part-time jobs include greater than average proportions of males, and lower than average proportions expecting to complete college. Since delinquency, aggression, and victimization are all more common among males than among females, and since they also show a weak negative correlation with college plans, it is important to check whether these factors underlie the relationships reported above. The data presented in Table 32 suggest that the correlations between hours of work and aggression or property offenses are not explainable primarily in terms of sex or educational aspirations. As the table indicates, the positive correlations across the total sample are mostly replicated within the four subgroups. Thus, if we were to conduct multivariate analyses controlling sex and college plans, we would see only a modest reduction in the tendency for hours of work to correlate positively with delinquency, aggression, and victimization.

Use of Drugs. The Monitoring the Future project has a rich array of measures of drug use and related attitudes and experiences (see Johnston, O'Malley, and Bachman, 1984, 1985; also Bachman, O'Malley, and Johnston, 1984; O'Malley, Bachman, and Johnston, 1984; Bachman, Johnston, and O'Malley, 1981). We begin this section by examining four drugs, three of which are widely used by young people. Table 33 displays, for each category of working hours, percentages who use, or have used, cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana, and cocaine. Each of the entries in the table shows higher proportions of users among those working longer hours. In the case of cigarettes, there are twice as many regular smokers (half-pack a day or more) among those working long hours as among those working few or no hours (20–21% versus 8–10%). The percentages are less dramatic in the case of alcohol, since nearly all seniors have used alcohol during the past year and most have used during the past month. However, a question asking about heavy drinking (five or more drinks in a row) during the past two weeks shows a fairly strong straight-line relationship with hours of work—fully half of those working the longest hours drank heavily at least once during the past two weeks, compared with 34%–40% of those working few hours and 30% of those not working.

The most popular illicit drug among young people is marijuana. Among those working the longest hours, about two-thirds had used marijuana sometime during their lifetime, compared with about half of those who worked few or no hours. The proportions who used it during the past year were about 15% lower, but the pattern is very much the same. One could argue that the most appropriate measure for assessing short-term impact of working hours would be use during the past month; here again we find higher percentages among those with long hours (35% used marijuana during the past month) compared with those working few hours or not at all (22%–23% used).

Another illicit drug that has risen in popularity in recent years is cocaine. Because this drug is quite expensive, it is particularly relevant to our examination of the possible impacts of part-time work—those working long hours have much larger amounts of money at their disposal, and thus might be more able to "afford" cocaine. In fact, however, the great majority of all seniors, whether they work long hours or not, have never used cocaine. Still there is a distinct relationship with work experiences; those working long hours as seniors were almost twice as likely to have tried cocaine sometime during their life as were those working few or no hours (19%–21% versus 11%–12%). The same ratio appears for use during the past year (15%–16% versus 8%) and use during the past month (8% versus 3%–4%).

Drug use, like delinquency and victimization, shows some overall differences related to sex (more males than females use alcohol, marijuana, and cocaine, but not cigarettes) and to college plans (higher use of all four drugs, particularly cigarettes, among those not expecting to complete four years of college). Thus it is again important to consider whether the relationships we have been reporting are confounded by the fact that long hours of work during high school occur more often among males and among those not expecting to complete college. The data presented in Table 34 indicate that no serious confounding has occurred. Within all four subgroups based on sex and college plans, the drug use measures remain positively correlated with hours of work.

How shall we interpret the consistently positive correlation between hours of part-time work during senior year and use of a variety of drugs? Certainly one possible explanation is that the working environment itself provides above average opportunities and/or encouragement for such use. To explore this possibility, multiple classification analyses were conducted to determine whether any additional variance in each measure of drug use could be explained by each of the job characteristics shown in Tables 7-2 through 7-8. We also checked for significant interaction effects between each job characteristic and

weekly hours of work. No single characteristic explained as much as 1% additional variance in any of the drug use measures, after controlling for sex, college plans, and work intensity, and significant interactions were few and inconclusive.

Another explanation for the positive relationships between drug use and work intensity is that the increased income makes drug use more affordable. Still other explanations might focus on any stresses experienced by those working longer hours. Each of the above explanations has in common that working long hours causes, either directly or indirectly, higher levels of drug use. An alternate line of explanation would focus on the earlier and more fundamental differences between those who do and do not work long hours, and would view these factors as also contributing to higher than average drug use. To the extent that the latter path of causation operates, we might expect to find differences in drug use preceding the differences in part-time work patterns. The ideal data for exploring these alternative causal interpretations would be obtained each year (or even more frequently) starting in the early years of junior high school. Although our present data are much more limited, they do include seniors' recollections of when they first used each of a number of drugs.

Table 35 displays the proportions whose first use of a particular drug occurred during or before eighth grade, and also the proportion whose first use occurred during or before ninth grade. The three drugs shown in the table are those most widespread among young people: cigarettes (in this case daily use), alcohol, and marijuana. The results clearly indicate that differences in early drug involvement are correlated with patterns of part-time work years later. For example, among those who would be working more than thirty hours as seniors, 20% had smoked cigarettes on a daily basis by the time they were in eighth grade and 28% had done so by ninth grade; the corresponding figures are about 10% (daily smoking by eighth grade) and 16% (by ninth grade) among those who as seniors would work few or no hours in part-time jobs. A similar pattern appears for first use of alcohol, although the differences are not as strong. And the pattern appears also for marijuana; early use was half again as frequent among those with long working hours (as seniors), compared with those working little or not at all in part-time jobs.

Conclusions. The material above demonstrates quite consistently that delinquency, victimization, and drug use are all correlated with hours of part-time work by high school seniors. The correlation coefficients reported in this section are all rather small, but in many cases this is at least partly due to the fact that the events are rather rare. It is perhaps more to the point to recall that many of these events occur twice as often among those working long hours compared with those working few or no hours in part-time jobs. In other words, the relationships are large enough to be taken seriously.

But given these relationships, how are we to interpret them? Do they reflect undesirable consequences of long hours of part-time work among high school seniors? Or do they reflect the effects of prior factors? We cannot answer these questions definitively, but we can offer some relevant observations. On one hand, we should recall that controls for sex and college plans by no means eliminate the relationships observed here. Thus these particular factors cannot account for all, or even most, of the relationships observed. On the other hand, we have seen several bits of evidence to suggest that the relationships are not limited to the work-place and the present or the recent past. Victimization is greater among those working long hours, but that is just as true of victimization in school as it is for other settings. Drug use is higher among those working long hours, but these individuals were also more likely than others to have started drug use in early grades—long before they could have been working long hours in part-time jobs.

Given this mix of evidence, we cannot conclude that working long hours in the last year (or years) of high school is the cause (direct and/or indirect) of all the negative events correlated with such work. Even the limited evidence available here clearly indicates that the patterns are too widespread and longstanding to support that interpretation. Instead it seems obvious that at least substantial portions of the relationships we have observed are attributable to prior differences among individuals. It lies beyond the scope of the present analysis to examine all of the possible prior differences measured in this study, but it seems safe to conclude that we have not measured enough of them with a sufficient degree of accuracy to permit anything close to a full accounting of the factors linking hours of work to various negative outcomes. Thus, even after further analyses, we suspect that there will remain plenty of room to argue that some negative consequences are caused rather directly by working long hours in part-time jobs while still a student in high school.

Table 30

Aggressive and Delinquent Behaviors by Work Intensity
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

(Entries are Percentages Reporting Behavior Occurred at Least Once)

		Hours of Work per Week							
		0	1–5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26–30	31+
2A19:	This section deals with activities which may be against the rules or against the law. During the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often have you...								
(a)	Argued or had a fight with either of your parents	83.3	86.5	87.8	91.1	91.5	91.8	91.2	86.7
(b)	Hit an instructor or supervisor	2.2	2.2	2.8	2.3	2.3	4.0	3.9	6.7
(c)	Gotten into a serious fight in school or at work	11.6	12.0	15.5	14.8	16.0	20.5	21.2	25.4
(d)	Taken part in a fight where a group of your friends were against another group	14.4	13.7	17.2	16.3	16.5	20.0	20.3	22.7
(e)	Hurt someone badly enough to need bandages or a doctor	7.9	8.9	9.1	8.3	9.2	12.2	13.7	18.1
(f)	Used a knife or gun or some other thing (like a club) to get something from a person	2.2	1.6	3.5	2.0	1.9	2.2	3.0	5.2
	Indexed Aggression (b-f)	7.6	7.7	9.5	8.7	9.1	11.7	12.4	15.5
(g)	Taken something not belonging to you worth under $50	25.2	27.5	31.7	33.6	34.2	35.9	33.5	33.3
(h)	Taken something not belonging to you over $50	4.6	4.9	5.7	5.9	6.9	8.6	8.4	9.4
(i)	Taken something from a store without paying for it	23.4	23.3	25.6	29.2	29.3	31.3	33.2	31.6
(j)	Taken a car that didn't belong to someone in your family without permission of the owner	3.6	4.8	4.2	5.0	4.1	5.4	4.5	6.2
(k)	Taken part of a car without permission of the owner	3.9	4.5	5.2	5.8	5.7	7.8	7.3	9.1
(l)	Gone into some house or building when you weren't supposed to be there	20.0	23.4	25.3	25.2	24.1	24.2	23.4	27.0
(m)	Set fire to someone's property on purpose	1.0	2.1	1.6	1.5	0.8	1.5	2.1	1.7
(n)	Damaged school property on purpose	10.9	13.6	13.8	13.7	13.0	13.6	13.2	16.5
(o)	Damaged property at work on purpose	1.6	3.9	5.0	6.6	6.4	8.6	11.0	10.5
(p)	Gotten into trouble with police because of something you did	17.2	17.5	18.7	21.4	22.0	26.3	27.0	27.9
	Indexed Property (g-o)	10.3	12.0	13.0	14.0	13.7	15.1	15.1	16.0
2E07:	Within the PAST THREE MONTHS, how often have you...								
(a)	Had arguments or quarrels with your parents or other older relatives	78.1	80.8	78.7	86.0	86.1	85.6	85.5	82.0
(b)	Had arguments or quarrels with people in positions of authority	35.2	41.1	41.9	45.2	46.1	48.8	48.9	48.8
(c)	Been mad enough to feel like smashing something, but didn't	74.4	73.9	73.9	76.1	75.5	78.0	75.5	73.5
(d)	Been mad enough so you actually did smash something	23.2	24.4	23.5	25.5	25.1	28.8	32.9	34.0
(e)	Felt like getting into a fist fight with someone, but didn't	49.1	48.3	51.5	49.4	52.3	56.0	56.0	56.2
(f)	Actually got into a fight and hit somebody	12.3	10.0	14.9	12.9	15.0	16.7	17.8	22.3
	Indexed Anger (b,d,f)	23.6	25.1	26.7	27.8	28.7	31.4	33.1	35.0
	N (approx.)	2663	971	1293	1451	2224	1803	1081	1290

Table 31

Victimization In and Out of School by Work Intensity
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

(Entries are Percentages Reporting Experience Occurred at Least Once)

		Hours of Work per Week							
		0	1–5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26–30	31+
2A20:	The next questions are about some things which may have happened TO YOU. During the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often...								
(a)	Has something yours (worth under $50) been stolen	40.0	46.3	46.5	45.7	44.7	47.0	47.1	47.1
(b)	Has something (worth over $50) been stolen	12.8	14.1	16.1	13.3	14.8	17.9	19.6	22.6
(c)	Has someone deliberately damaged your property (your car, clothing, etc.)	27.1	32.9	32.0	31.3	32.9	36.9	40.1	42.3
(d)	Has someone injured you with a weapon (like a knife, gun, or club)	3.7	3.9	5.3	4.2	4.0	4.2	5.9	8.6
(e)	Has someone threatened you with a weapon, but not actually injured you	13.2	13.8	15.4	13.3	16.4	16.9	19.8	24.1
(f)	Has someone injured you on purpose without using a weapon	12.5	14.7	14.7	15.1	16.3	15.8	17.6	18.5
(g)	Has an unarmed person threatened you with injury, but not actually injured you	21.8	25.2	27.7	27.7	29.9	28.7	32.8	33.8
	Indexed Victimization (b-e)	14.1	16.1	17.1	15.5	17.0	18.9	21.3	24.3
	N (approx.)	2949	1070	1383	1569	2448	1963	1203	1435
3E08:	The next questions are about some things which may have happened TO YOU while you were at school (inside or outside or in a schoolbus). During the LAST 12 MONTHS, how often...								
(a)	Has something of your (worth under $50) been stolen	32.3	39.7	36.8	37.5	34.3	37.4	37.3	37.7
(b)	Has something of yours (worth over $50) been stolen	10.6	9.7	10.8	10.2	11.3	10.9	12.8	17.8
(c)	Has someone deliberately damaged your property (your car, clothing, etc.)	19.9	25.3	27.8	22.3	25.7	25.6	28.6	33.1
(d)	Has someone injured you with a weapon (like a knife, gun, or club)	2.3	3.0	4.1	4.0	4.3	4.0	5.1	9.0
(e)	Has someone threatened you with a weapon, but not actually injured you	8.7	12.8	11.8	10.7	10.5	11.7	15.6	21.3
(f)	Has someone injured you on purpose without using a weapon	9.8	11.6	16.5	11.3	11.7	13.3	15.9	16.4
(g)	Has an unarmed person threatened you with injury, but not actually injured you	16.8	23.6	23.6	22.6	21.7	21.8	27.0	29.4
	Indexed School Victimization (b-e)	10.4	12.7	13.6	11.8	13.0	13.1	16.3	20.3
	N (approx.)	1514	611	753	879	1291	983	629	665

Table 32

Aggression and Victimization: Correlations with Work Intensity
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

	Total	Males		Females	
		College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
Indexed Aggression (Items 2A19b-f)					
r	.119	.133	.086	.054	.034
eta, adj.	.130	.136	.100	.073	.029
Indexed Property (Items 2A19g-o)					
r	.104	.098	.038	.111	.044
eta, adj.	.105	.107	.059	.105	.055
Indexed Anger (Items 2E07b,d,f)					
r	.116	.123	.116	.092	.016
eta, adj.	.115	.117	.123	.087	.015
Indexed Victimization All (Items 2A20b-e)					
r	.121	.124	.100	.083	.068
eta, adj.	.131	.133	.097	.087	.056
Indexed Victimization, School (Items 3E08b-e)					
r	.104	.126	.093	.060	.038
eta, adj.	.121	.148	.094	.093	.000

Table 33

Drug Use by Work Intensity,
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

(Entries are Percentages)

	Hours of Work per Week							
	0	1–5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26–30	31+
Smoked 1/2 pack or more cigarettes daily in past 30 days	9.7	7.7	8.9	10.4	13.2	16.9	19.9	21.3
Alcohol: lifetime	89.1	91.2	92.7	94.6	94.5	95.9	95.3	94.9
Alcohol: past 12 months	80.6	85.6	87.2	89.7	90.6	91.8	90.6	90.5
Alcohol: past 30 days	59.0	65.7	68.2	72.4	75.0	77.7	76.4	76.5
Heavy drinking (5 or more drinks in a row/last 2 weeks)	30.1	34.1	38.5	40.5	43.9	47.1	47.9	50.5
Marijuana: lifetime	49.1	50.3	54.0	58.1	61.7	65.0	66.0	64.7
Marijuana: past 12 months	35.4	36.6	40.9	44.7	47.4	51.0	52.0	50.1
Marijuana: past 30 days	22.3	22.7	25.6	27.5	31.4	33.5	34.2	34.4
Cocaine: lifetime	10.9	11.6	14.1	14.5	17.0	18.9	20.1	21.1
Cocaine: past 12 months	7.6	8.9	10.1	11.1	12.7	14.4	15.2	15.7
Cocaine: past 30 days	3.2	3.5	4.1	4.7	5.6	6.2	7.7	8.2
Approximate N	13777	5253	6568	7950	12068	9465	6017	6671

Table 34

Use of Cigarettes, Alcohol, Marijuana, and Cocaine:
Correlations with Work Intensity
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

		Total	Males		Females	
			College-bound	Non-college-bound	College-bound	Non-college-bound
Smoked 1/2 pack or more of cigarettes daily in past 30 days						
	r	.119	.109	.087	.123	.099
	eta, adj.	.129	.118	.087	.131	.106
Alcohol – Any use in lifetime						
	r	.088	.086	.069	.090	.116
	eta, adj.	.097	.073	.080	.098	.126
Alcohol – Any use in last twelve months						
	r	.113	.084	.104	.114	.143
	eta, adj.	.127	.089	.117	.125	.159
Alcohol – Any use in last thirty days						
	r	.140	.108	.127	.139	.141
	eta, adj.	.150	.127	.136	.151	.153
Alcohol – Heavy drinking						
	r	.140	.115	.115	.116	.100
	eta, adj.	.141	.125	.125	.118	.101
Marijuana – Any use in lifetime						
	r	.126	.109	.064	.144	.123
	eta, adj.	.130	.115	.082	.148	.126
Marijuana – Any use in last twelve months						
	r	.120	.112	.057	.135	.116
	eta, adj.	.124	.122	.071	.138	.118
Marijuana – Any use in last thirty days						
	r	.104	.102	.040	.105	.088
	eta, adj.	.106	.109	.061	.111	.087
Cocaine – Any use in lifetime						
	r	.097	.099	.036	.101	.091
	eta, adj.	.098	.100	.042	.102	.091
Cocaine – Any use in last twelve months						
	r	.090	.089	.046	.098	.083
	eta, adj.	.090	.089	.052	.098	.082
Cocaine – Any use in last thirty days						
	r	.074	.070	.055	.073	.062
	eta, adj.	.074	.070	.053	.073	.069

Table 35

Early Initiation into Drug Use by Work Intensity
Classes of 1980–1984, Combined

(Entries are Percentages)

	Hours of Work per Week							
Proportions who first...	None	<=5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26–30	31+
Smoked cigarettes on a daily basis in...								
Eighth grade or earlier	7.1	6.8	7.5	8.5	10.0	12.8	14.0	15.3
Ninth grade or earlier	11.6	9.7	15.6	13.5	15.6	19.9	21.3	21.6
Tried alcohol (more than just a few sips) in...								
Eighth grade or earlier	27.8	27.8	28.4	28.4	29.4	34.2	36.2	34.6
Ninth grade or earlier	49.8	50.8	54.1	56.4	57.1	59.1	61.2	61.1
Tried marijuana or hashish in...								
Eighth grade or earlier	13.1	13.1	14.8	16.3	17.3	20.0	19.8	18.1
Ninth grade or earlier	25.9	26.9	30.9	32.4	35.4	38.5	39.1	37.1
Approximate N	2043	924	1131	1389	2086	1633	1000	1076

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